





Brip. 126<sup>2</sup>

Stafford

m 4<sup>0</sup>

















*Breca sculpt in the manner of the original*

*Qualis erat vultu. sed lingua. mente. manuq;  
 Qualis erat qui vult discere. scripta legat  
 Consulat aut famam. qui lingua. mente. manu.  
 Vinceret hunc. fama iudic. rarus erat.*



***PACATA HIBERNIA;***  
OR,  
**A HISTORY**  
OF THE  
**WARS IN IRELAND,**  
DURING THE  
***REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.***

**Taken from the original Chronicles.**

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Illustrated with Portraits of QUEEN ELIZABETH and the EARL of TOTNESS;  
and *Fac Similes* of all the ORIGINAL MAPS and PLANS.

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**VOL. II.**

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***SECOND EDITION.***

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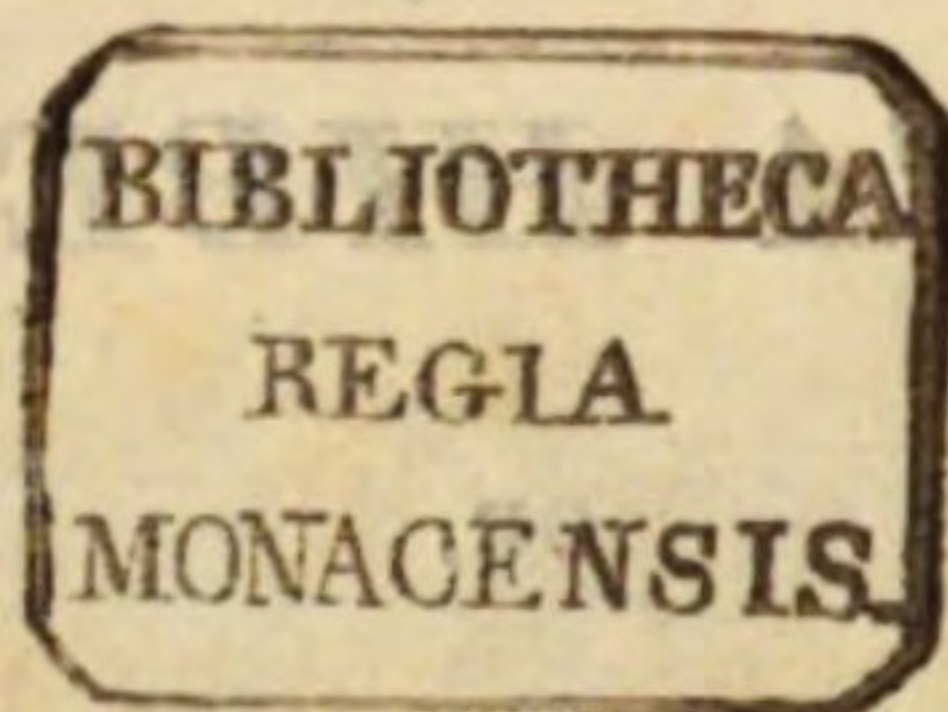
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**1820.**





# WARS IN IRELAND

REIGN OF JAMES II. 1685-1690

Edited from the original documents

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# *PACATA HIBERNIA.*

THE

## SECOND BOOKE

OF THE

### *WARRES IN IRELAND,*

*Whereby that Countrey was reduced to  
Subjection and Obedience.*

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#### CHAP. I.

*Connaght and Vlster men drawn to a head to invade Mounster. A Regiment sent by the Lord President into Connaght to assist Sir John Barkley. Walter Burke and Teg O Bryen slaine. The Lord President with the remainder of the Army come to Limrick. The rising out of the Countrey commanded by the Lo. Barry drawne neere to Limericke. The Rebels distressed for want of victualls, and defeated. Donogh Mac Cormocke Cartie slaine. Redmond Burkes letter to the Lo. President, with the Lord Presidents answer.*

THE prosperous Successes of last yeere, did promise faire hopes, that the malice of the Warre was spent, and that the Province would within short time bee reduced to a settled conformitie: but the malicious practices of the Irish Papists, had so farre intraged the Pope and the King of Spaine, against our Sovereigne Mistresse, and her good Subjects the Professors of the



true Religion, (whom the Romanists falsely tearme Heretiques) as in this yeare of 1601, the Province of Mounster was not onely set in a raging flame, but the whole Kingdome was indangered to bee torne from the Crowne of England: But God in his great mercie, fought for his servants, and made this intended mischief to bee the breacke-necke of the Rebellion throughout the Kingdome, and consequently, the peace and tranquillitie, which by the goodnesse of God wee enjoy

About the latter end of March 1601, Intelligences were brought to the Lord President, and Letters intercepted, whereby it probably appeared, that Forces from Vlster and Connaght, were in preparing, (by the way of Thomond) to passe into Mounster, under the conduct of *Redmond Burke*, Captaine *Hugh Mostian*, and *Cón Oneale*, (*Tyrones* base sonne) with about two thousand men, (besides Mounster fugitiues) to releue the lurking Earle; but although the circumstances of that Relation prooved to bee untrue, both in the Leaders and number of men, yet that smoake did arise from some fire; for presently heereupon *Redmond Burke*, and *Hugh Mostian*, with eight hundred Connaght men, and *Teg Orwrk*, *John fits Thomas*, *Donogh Mac Cormocke*, and *Pierce Lacie*, with seven hundred of the North came through Connaght; Sir *John Barkley* Governour in the absence of Sir *Arthur Savage*, being constrained to giue way to their greater force: Likewise the Barron of Lixnaw, and



*Teg Kewgh Mac Maghon*, were busie in providing Gallies to come by Sea, and the *Omaylies* and *O Flagherties* had a purpose with sixe hundred men, (which they had already furnished) to invade Kerry, the President having received certaine intelligence of all those preparations, principally set on foot to disturb his Governmente, first dispatched away one thousand Foot, under the command of Captain *George Flower*, Sergeant Major of that Province, with direction to march forward in all haste into Connaght, to joyne with *Sir Iohn Barkley*, that they might doe some good service upon the Rebels at their passage over the Shenan, which of necessitie they must hazzard before they could come into Mounster.

The nine and twentieth of March, Captaine *Flower* rose out of Limerick, and that night lodged at Quyn in Thomond, had notice that the enemy had aduanced into Thomond, to spoyle the same, having the assistance of *Teg Sonne* and Heire to *Sir Tirloghe Obrien*, who went into action not aboue three days before: The Sergeant Major discovering their Forces, came up close unto them; and when hee began to fight, they began to runne, whom notwithstanding he so well pursued (with my Lord of Thomonds Company) that they slew and hurt divers of them; and amongst the rest, *Walter Burke*, Sonne to the Blind Abbot was slaine and *Teg Obrien* (now mentioned) received a mortall wound, whereof (within three dayes after) he died; besides these forces by land, the President also made



certaine provisions by Sea, for preventing *Fits-Maurice* with his *Omaylies* and *Offlagherties* from coming into Kerry; upon which occasion there was a tall Merchant (lately come with provent apparell for the Armie, into the river of Limrick) together with certaine small boats, well victualled and manned, commanded to attend about the mouth of Shenan, to doe service upon such Rebels as should appeare upon that Coast; all which being notified in the Countrey, the Enemy finding his purpose frustrated of transporting his Armie into Kerry that way, they retyred themselves into a strong Fastnesse in Tough-kinalehin, betwixt Clanrickard and Thomond; her Majesties forces lodging so neere them as possible they might. The President also himselfe with all the rest of his forces (except the Garrisons of Kerry) followed as farre as Limerick, aswell to giue countenance to the other Companies (that attended the Rebels) as also to bee ready (upon the first allarum) to intercept or interrupt them; if by any devise or chance they might escape the forces in Connaght, and because the Enemy should bee desperate of any helpe, and assured of strong resisistance in the Province, the President tooke order that all the Chiefes of everey Countrey, should assemble themselves at Galbally in the County of Limerick, and to bring with them the best forces they could make of Horse and Foote, together with victuals for ten dayes, to attend such directions as they should bee commanded by the Lord *Barry*, who was appointed Generall of the Provincials. What service



they would haue done (if occasion had been offered) I know not ; But sure I am, although they did somewhat exceede the time limited, before they were assembled, yet at last there was gathered thirteene hundred Foote, and one hundred and twenty Horse of the County of Corke only, with great alacrity as seemed of doing some acceptable service. In the meane time Sir *Iohn Barkley* layeth so hardly to the Rebels, still keeping within their fastnesse, that they could not possibly get any prey of the Countrey, but were constrained from the thirtieth of March to the thirteenth of Aprill to feede upon garrans flesh, and such unsavory meate: Afterwards being halfe starved, and altogether past hope of *O Donnels* coming to their reliefe with more forces, they stole away in the night, and drew into *Omaddins* Countrey; our men perceiving their rising pursued them and held them fighting all night, and in the morning found that wee had slaine many of them; yet by break of the day, they had recovered another strong Fastnesse, wherein Sir *Iohn Barkley* (though often assaying) could not annoy them: after two dayes being distressed with like want as before, they were inforced to dislodge againe in the night, our forces pursued them at the heeles, and coming close up unto them, put them to the route, and forced them over the *Sucke*, a deepe River, wherein they lost two hundred men, with the most part of their munition and baggage. In this service there was lost and hurt of our men one and twentie, but not any of note, except *Nevile*, Sir *Gerrard Harvy* his



Lieutenant onely: The Rebels were so terrified in this prosecution, that such as escaped the River sought not to vnite themselues againe: *Teg Orwrke* retired into his Countrey, *Redmond Burke* went to *O Donnell*, *Iohn fits Thomas*, to *Tyrone*, and the meaner sort dispersed into sundry places, and *Hughe Mostian* with his Company rested himselfe in *O Conner Roes* Countrey: In one of the aforesaid skirmishes in *Oshafnes* Countrey, upon the seven and twentieth of March, *Donoghe Mac Cormock* (aforementioned) was slaine, being lately enlarged by *Tyrone*, to set a fire in Mounster. These affaires thus accomplished with good successe, although not fully so good as was both promised and expected; Captaine *Flower* with his Regiment, returned the one and twentieth of Aprill to Limerick.

Ever since the Presidents first coming into Mounster, there had beene (as formerly you may obserue) secret trafficke held betweene the Lord President and *Redmond Burke*, the pretended Baron of Letrim: *Burkes* end was to haue the President to assist him for the recovering of his Fathers lands, against his Vncle the Earle of Clanrickard, and the President held him on with good words, and messages for two respects; the one for keeping him from joyning with the rest of the bownoghs in Mounster, the other to procure him (if he might possibly worke him unto it) to doe some signall service upon the Rebels: *Redmond* still pursuing his desires, (when Captaine *Flower* was



in Connaght with the Mounster forces as aforesaid) writes this Letter here inserted to the President, and the answer unto it was as followeth.

*Redmond Burkes Letter to the Lo. President.*

**H**ONOURABLE Lord, having heretofore complained to your Lordship of the inestimable wrongs that are offered mee, which seeing your Honour cannot redresse heere, I would request your Honour, (in respect that I specially meane not to disturbe any place under your Lordships, or the Earle of Thomonds Iurisdiction) not to be a meanes to stop me from demaunding my right, or pursuing it in this sort, seeing by right or Law the state pleaseth not to satisfie mee; and assure your Honour, if your selfe had any power to minister Equitie betwixt her Majesties Subjects, the fame of the honourable worth and equitie your Lordship doth carry, would not only alien me to loath this kind of life, but also very many unspecified others. And thus requesting your Lordship to draw your Forces for the defence of your Lordships Charge; which otherwise might suddenly revolt, if they had any ayd by Sea or Land, as very many they expect; which if your Lordship wrong me not, I will stop to my best endeavour, I betake your Honour to God. From the Campe, the twelfth of Aprill, 1601.

Your Honours loving Friend,

*Redmond Leitrim.*



*The Lord Presidents Answer.*

I HAUE received your Letter on the twelfth of this instant, and am glad to finde by the same, that the life you now leade is odious unto you; I doe wish, that the feeling of your dutie may increase in that manner in you, as that you would make your selfe capable of the Queenes mercie, which is farre more infinite then your transgression hitherto hath been; Of which Royall disposition of hers, the examples (of the offenders in this Kingdome) are plentiful and apparent. The pretence you make in your continuance in action, is the wrongs done unto you, by your Vncle, and to enable him farther to suppress you utterly; you adde heere to that Arch-Traytor *Tyrone*, and forsake your duetie to your Soveraigne, refusing her Lawes, (by the which you may bee righted) with opinion to be repossessed by the strength of his sword: your Youth may somewhat excuse your error, but beleeeue mee, you shall neither bee Barron of Letrim, or possesse your Fathers Inheritance by the ayde of that perfidious Traytour, which I know hath not the power any long time to support this Rebellion; and if he had, yet your selfe and all the English race of Ireland birth, is as odious unto him, as now we are, that are naturall English: If his power were able to make him Monarch of Ireland, the *Burkes*, with all of English descent, must looke for no other then assured extirpation: I am sure you are of discretion sufficient to conceiue as much as I



write, wherefore I need insist no longer upon the same: To be short, if you will follow the way which I doe by this Messenger prescribe you, you may make your self capable of the Queenes mercie, and find both meanes and friends to obtaine Iustice: The request you make unto me to forbear sending of Forces to annoy you, and in so doing that you will spare Mounster, and keepe others from harming the Province: If I were but an ordinary Subject, and not an Officer to the Queene, I neither might, or would make any such contract with you, and therefore much lesse may I hearken to any such motion, being an Officer of that qualitie as I am; and doe marvell that you would require mee to juggle with my Prince, whom I wish that you did serue with the like faith and dutie as I doe. I doe wish that your estate were such, that I might shew you friendship. If you persevere in rebellion, I hold you lost, and in a condition with them who haue made themselues unreconcileable. What I leaue unwritten, I referre to this Bearer, Limerick this fourteenth of Aprill, 1601.

*Your loving Friend when you  
are an obedient Subject,*

G. C.

This Answer of the Presidents could not be very pleasing to *Redmond*, for it plainly manifested, that his purpose was not to doe him any courtesies, untill hee had done somewhat that might deserue his friend-



ship, and Her Majesties grace : Neverthelesse it seems that there was some hopes for him to feede upon, in the messages sent, which he did not write, or else *Burke* could not haue beene contained from harming of Mounster as hitherto hee was. To conclude, he fed him with faire language and threats ; and sure I am that the President made his advantage by it.

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## CAHP. II.

*Intelligence of Spanish Invasion. The escape of Teg O Brien brother to the Earle of Thomond, Florence his preparations for munition and men. A Letter from Tyrone to Florence. A Letter from the Lords of the Councell to the Lord President, The report of Dermond Mac Awley touching the coming of Vlster men into Mounster.*

I Must desire the Reader to excuse me, if I doe a little breake the rule of the progresse of this Storie, in lookig backe some few dayes, for that which proceedeth of the accidents of Captaine *Flowers* Service in Connaght, did so necessarily depend one after the other, as that I was inforced to continue that Relation untill this retune to Limericke, which made mee forbear to speake of Sir *Henry Dockwray*, who upon the seventh of this instant Aprill, wrote to the Lord Deputie, (as his Lordship advertised the President) that *Hugh Boy*, (who was a man of good estimation, and very in ward with *O Donnell*) assured him that the Spaniards would this yeare invade Ireland with sixe thousand men, and would land in



some part of Mounster, and that three of the chiefe Townes (which must bee Corke, Limerick and Waterford, for they were the chiefest) had promised to receiue them, and that *Florence Mac Cartie* (by the necessitie of the time onely) had submitted himselfe to the President, but upon the Spaniards landing he would assuredly come unto them, with all the force hee could make.

The sixe and twentieth of Aprill, the President leaving at Limerick, and neere unto it, twelue hundred Foote and fifty Horse for the Guard of those borders, returned towards Corke; and the seven and twentieth, the next day following hee heard that *Teg Obrien*, brother to the Earle of Thomond, having beene a long time Prisoner in Limerick, (by the corruption of his Keeper) made an escape; Immediatly hee wrote unto the President protesting his loyaltie to Her Majestie, professing to doe service, such as should merit favour. Humbly besought him (not desiring any protection) that hee might remaine with his Lordship: The President granted his request, and withall sent him a Protection, which in another Letter unto *Richard Boyle* the Clarke of the Councell hee besought. The reason which moved the President, to grant his request, was the absence of the Earle of Thomond, then in England, that during the same, the County of Clare might bee freed from bonfires, but now for a time we must leaue the President in Cork, & returne to *Florence Mac Carty*.



You heard before that *Florence* had a cutting (as they call it) upon Carberry, towards his charges in the pretended journey for England, but employed all the same, and whatsoever more hee could procure, to another end; for about this time he provided a Barke, which hee fraught with Hides, Tallow, and such commodities, committing the care and trust thereof to some of Kinsale, by whom the same merchandize should bee transported beyond the Seas, and in lieu thereof, munition, and abilliments of warre should be returned, and delivered unto him in the Harbour of Valentia: Moreover, about the same time, hee did earnestly solicit aide from the neighbour Provinces, to resist Her Majesties forces; and for the same purpose wrote a Letter in Irish (which was read by *James Welsh*, by whose relation I received this light) unto one in Ormond called *Cahir Mac Shane Glasse Omulrian*, desiring that he would leavy for him sixe hundred Foote in Linster, which if hee could not, then to procure *Redmond Burke* to come with so many to his aide, and if hee failed likewise herein, to deale with Captaine *Terrell* to the same effect, and hee would pay them upon the Countrey of Desmond: Lastly, *Donoghe Mac Cormuck* called *Mac Donoghe* (his Agent with *Tyrone*) laboured so much at his hands, and that so earnestly, as he procured a Letter from *Tyrone*; the Contents whereof were as followeth: And thus translated out of the Irish.



*A Letter from Tyrone to Florence Mac Carty.*

OVr commendations to you *Mac Carty More*, I send shortly unto you according to our trust of you, that you will doe a stout and hopefull thing against the pagan beast, and thereupon our Armie is to goe into Mounster, and with the will of God, we consent unto you, and will that you beleeeue not any word from us for ever, before wee write againe unto you; for you shall see trouble enough in England, by English men it selfe, so as there shall be easinesse of suffering their warres, at May next, in respect of that it is now: And since this cause of Mounster was left to you (next under God) let no weakness or imbecillitie bee found in you, and the time of helpe is neere you, and all the rest. From Dongannon the sixth of February, 1601.  
*Stilo Novo.* *Oneale*

The Armie mentioned in this Letter, was the same which now you heard of, taking their journey by the way of Connaght, which as may appeare both by the examination of *Iames Welsh*, and the Contents of those Letters, were solicited and sent principally by the meanes, promises, and procurement of *Florence*, he being then and before under protection, the breach whereof hee nothing esteemed: But surceasing farther to rake in the filthy Channels of his malicious practises, like maladies immedicable, lest it should be loathsome to the Reader, I will leade him abroad



into the open Aire, to behold the hunting, rousing and fall of a great Stag, which was after sent into England to her Majestie, and by her received as a most acceptable Present, although it was not Gods will, that shee should live to reward the chiefe Ranger.

About the middest of May, the Lord President received a Letter from the Lords of the Councell in England, which bare date the eight and twentieth of Aprill, which for the Readers better vnderstanding, how the affairs of Mounster did sute with the Directions and Counsels in England, I thinke it meet to be inserted.

*A Letter from the Lords of the Councell to the Lord President.*

**A**FTER our very heartie Commendations to your Lordship: Although we haue before this time acquainted you with her Majesties gracious acceptation of your service, becauce wee know you had no greater object, than to deserue her Majesties grace and favour; yet now vve vvill forbear to touch it at this time, because her Majestie giues you notice of it with her owne hand, and for the present onely let you know what care vvee haue taken to satisfie all your demaunds for her Majesties service, because it may appeare unto you, seeing you doe orderly and carefully giue us an account of your proceedings, that wee will in no sort neglect such things as you in your discretion hold fit or necessary. Wee haue therefore



first by her Majesties Commandment, sent you a supply of munitions according to your request; We haue likewise given order for Victuals in good proportion, although it seemeth to us by the Certificate of the Victualler, that you were better stored at your writing, then you knew for: Wee haue also given order for Oates to be presently sent you; and because you haue so good use of a Ship for transporting of Victualls to and fro, besides the service shee may doe, in mastering those Barques and Boats which offend the Coast, wee haue sent Captaine *Harvie* with a good Ship for that purpose. And now that you may know, what Letters wee haue intercepted out of Spaine, concerning those bruits which wee perceiue are spread of Spanish succours, you shall receiue the Copies of three Letters, whereof wee haue the Originall, which were committed to the charge of *Peter Strong* of Waterford, whose Ship and Goods were taken in Famouth, where they were put in by storme; One of them comes from the Governour of the Groyne, and another from a Fryer that resideth with him, the third from one *Sennock* who as it seemeth, being unwilling to haue *Tyrone* deceived, sheweth him truly how little reason they haue to trust to any of the Spanish Succours as they expect; of these you may make such use as you thinke good. As concerning your desire, to know what shall become of the Lady *Ione* of *Desmond*, wee thinke you should doe well to set her at libertie againe as shee was before, referring the care of her



well doing to some of her Sisters, that may haue an eye over her. We do also require you still to foresee, that her Majesties Forces being now so much diminished, may not be spent in maintaining private mens Castles and houses, but where those places are of use for her Majesties service. Lastly, concerning the Fine imposed on the Major of Limrick, for which we find you had so just occasion, wee wish you in no wise to remit it, but rather to bestow it upon the repaire of her Majesties Castle there, which as it seemeth, will serue to so good purpose for her Majesties service: And so wee bid your Lordship very heartily farewell. From the Court at Whitehall the 28 of Aprill 1601.

Your Lordships very loving Friends,

*Thomas Egerton. C.*

*Ro. Cecill.*

*Tho. Buckhurst.*

*Ioh. Fortescue.*

*W. Knowles.*

*I. Herbert.*

The eight and twentieth day *Dermond Mac Awlie*, who was lately come out of Vlster, and daily conversant with the Traytors of Mounster, and acquainted with all their proceedings and Councell, by mediation of friends, made his repaire to the President, and being examined whether they intended to come againe with new forces into the Province, hee affirmed that at his departure from them, they were ready to come away, and did particularize what Munitions, and Money every one of them was furnished withall by *Tyrone*, viz.



|                          |   |                 |            |
|--------------------------|---|-----------------|------------|
| <i>The Lo. of Lixnaw</i> | { | Calievers,      | 40.        |
|                          |   | Powder Barrels, | 02.        |
|                          |   | Lead one Sow,   | 01.        |
|                          |   | Match, faddoms  | 120.       |
|                          |   | Money,          | 14. pound. |

|                          |   |                 |               |
|--------------------------|---|-----------------|---------------|
| <i>John fits Thomas.</i> | { | Calievers,      | 25.           |
|                          |   | Powder Barrels, | 01.           |
|                          |   | Lead Soves,     | $\frac{1}{2}$ |
|                          |   | Match faddoms,  |               |
|                          |   | Money,          | 10. li        |

|                      |   |                |               |
|----------------------|---|----------------|---------------|
| <i>Pierce Lacie.</i> | { | Calievers,     | 20.           |
|                      |   | Powder Barrels | 01.           |
|                      |   | Lead Soves,    | $\frac{1}{2}$ |
|                      |   | Match faddoms, |               |
|                      |   | Money,         | 8. li.        |

|                    |   |                 |               |
|--------------------|---|-----------------|---------------|
| <i>Mac Donogh.</i> | { | Calievers,      | 25.           |
|                    |   | Powder Barrels, | 01.           |
|                    |   | Lead Soves,     | $\frac{1}{2}$ |
|                    |   | Match,          |               |
|                    |   | Money,          | 12. li.       |

|                       |   |                |          |
|-----------------------|---|----------------|----------|
| <i>Redmond Burke.</i> | { | Calievers,     | 150.     |
|                       |   | Powder Barrels | 10.      |
|                       |   | Lead Soves,    | 05.      |
|                       |   | Match,         |          |
|                       |   | Money,         | 500. li. |



|                    |   |                 |          |
|--------------------|---|-----------------|----------|
| <i>Teg Orwrke.</i> | { | Calievers,      | 150.     |
|                    |   | Powder Barrels, | 10.      |
|                    |   | Lead Soves      | 05.      |
|                    |   | Match,          |          |
|                    |   | Money,          | 500. li. |

From *Odonnell* to

|                   |   |                 |         |
|-------------------|---|-----------------|---------|
| <i>Teg Kewgh.</i> | { | Calievers,      | 12      |
|                   |   | Powder Barrels, | 02      |
|                   |   | Lead Soves,     | +       |
|                   |   | Match Fathomes, |         |
|                   |   | Money,          | 40. li. |

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### CHAP. III.

*James fits Thomas, the titulary Earle of Desmond taken Prisoner. James fits Thomas kept Prisoner in the Lord Presidents house. His arraignment and condemnation. His relation presented to the Lord President. The Lord Presidents Letter to Her Majesty. Two Letters from James fits Thomas to the King of Spaine. The causes of the Rebellion in Mounster as James fits Thomas alleaged. Hussies report of the causes of the Rebellion in Mounster.*

**T**HERE was no man of account in all Mounster whom the President had not oftentimes laboured about the taking of the reputed Earle, still lurking secretly within this Province, promising very bountifull and liberall rewards to all, or any such as would draw such a draught whereby he might be gotten aliue or dead, every man entertained these proffers, as



being resolute in performing the same service, although they never conceived any such thought; but at last it hapned after this manner. The Lord *Barry* having one hundred men in pay from the Queene employed them many times about such service, as either the President should command or himselve thought requisit; and namely about the fourteenth of May, knowing that one *Dermond Odogan*, a Harper dwelling at Garryduffe, vsed to harbour this Arch-rebell, or else upon occasion of some stealth that had beene made in his Countrey, the thieues making towards this Fastnesse, his Souldiers pursued them into this Wood, where by good fortune, this supposed Earle with two of the *Baldones* and this *Dermond* were gathered together, being almost ready to goe to supper; but having discovered these Souldiers, they left their meate, and made haste to shift for themselves; they were no sooner gone out of the Cabbins, but the Souldiers were come in, and finding this provision and a mantle (which they knew belonged to *James fits Thomas*) they followed the chase of the Stag now roused: by this time the Harper had conveyed the Sugean Earle into the thickest part of the Fastnesse, and himself with his two other Companions, of purpose discovered themselves to the Souldiers, and left the Wood with the Lapwings policie; that they being busied in pursuite of them, the other might remaine secure within that Fastnesse, and so indeed it fell out; for the Souldiers supposing that *James fits Thomas* had beene of that Company, made



after them till Evening, by what time they had recovered the White Knights Countrey where being past hope of any farther service, they returned to Barry Court, and informed the Lord *Barry* of all those accidents: On the next morning, the Lord *Barry* glad of so good a cause of complaint against the White Knight, whom hee hated, hasteth to the President, and relating unto him all these particulars, signifieth what a narrow escape the Arch-traytor had made, and that if the White Knights people had assisted his Souldiers, hee could not possibly haue escaped their hands: Hereupon the White Knight was presently sent for, who being called before the President, was rebuked with sharpe words and bitter reprehensions, for the negligence of his Countrey in so important a busines, and was menaced, that for so much as hee had undertaken for his whole Countrey; therefore hee was answerable both with life and lands, for any default by them made: The White Knight receiving these threatnings to heart, humbly intreated the President to suspend his judgement for a few dayes, vowing upon his soule, that if the said *Desmond* were now in this Countrey (as was averred) or should hereafter repaire thither, hee would giue the President, a good account of him aliue or dead, otherwise he was contented that both his Lands and Goods should remaine at the Queenes mercy; and with these protestations he departed: and presently repairing to Sir *George Thornton*, hee recounted unto him the



sharpe reproofes, which from the President hee had received; Sir *George* finding him thus well nettled tooke hold of the occasion, & never left urging him to performe the service, untill he had taken his corporall oath (upon a booke) that he would employ all his endeavours to effect the same. As soone as he was returned to his house, he made the like moane unto some of his faithfulest Followers, as hee had done to Sir *George Thornton*, and to stirre up their minds to helpe him in the perill hee stood; hee promised him, that could bring him word where *Iames fits Thomas* was, he would giue him fiftie pound in money, the inheritance of a Plough land to him and his Heirs for ever, with many immunities and freedomes. One of his followers, which loved him dearely, compassionating the perplexity hee was in, but would you indeed (said he) lay hands upon *Iames fits Thomas*, if you knew where to find him? the Knight confirmed it with protestations, then follow me said he, and I will bring you where he is; The White Knight, and hee with sixe or seven more (whereof *Redmond Burk*, of Muskry-quirke was one) presently upon the nine and twentyeth of May tooke horse, and were guided to a Caue in the Mountaine of Slewgort, which had but a narrow mouth, yet deepe in the ground, where the Caytiffe Earle (accompanied onely with one of his foster brothers called *Thomas Ophegie*) was then lurking: the white Knight called *Iames fits Thomas* requiring him to come out and render himselfe his prisoner: But contrariwise hee presuming upon the



greatnes of his quality, comming to the Caues mouth required *Redmond Burke* and the rest to lay hands upon the Knight, (for both hee and they were his naturall Followers) but the vvheele of his fortune being turned, with their swords drawen they entred the Caue, and without resistance disarming him and his foster Brother, they delivered them bound to the White Knight, who caried him to his castle of Kilvenny, and presently dispatched a Messenger to Sir *George Thornton*, to pray him to send some of the Garison of Kilmallock to take charge of him, which employment was committed to the care of Captaine *Francis Slingsby*, who marching with his company to Kilvenny, had the prisoner delivered unto him, and from thence with as much expedition as might bee, the White Knight, Sir *George Thornton*, and Captaine *Slingsby* brought them unto the President, then residing at Shandon Castle adjoyning to Corke. But how the White Knight performed his promise to his Servant it may bee doubted, though he had one thousand pound given him from her Majestie for the service.

The President having thus gotten his long desired prey, not adventuring to haue him kept in the Tawne, appointed him lodging and a Keeper within Shandon Castle, where himselfe then remayned, and there held him in Irons, untill he was sent into England, which was yet deferred; for the President being informed by the Queenes learned Councell, that if he should dye before his arraignment, the Queene could not be interrested in his Lands, but by act of Parlia-



ment, and also his brother *Iohn*, was not debarred by the Law from the title, which this Pretender holdeth to be good in the Earledome of Desmond. When the White Knight had delivered his prisoner, *Iames fits Thomas* into Captaine *Slingsbyes* custody; he told him, now the house is yours, take care and charge of him.

And in conference with Captaine *Slingsby*, told him how much it grieved him, that the Lord President should suspect him to bee a Releever of *Iames fits Thomas*, contrary to his protestation of service to Her Majestie and to him; and to make it the better appeare what infinite prejudice hee had received by his meanes. For first at the comming of *Tyrone* into Mounster, *Iames fits Thomas* having some jealousie, (and not without cause) that the White Knight would quit the confederacie, and humbly seeke Her Majesties gracious favour, acquainted *Tyrone* with it, who thereupon apprehended him, and willed him either to put in his Sonne *Iohn* as a pledge of his perseverance, or else hee must detaine him Prisoner: which the White Knight being neither able nor willing to performe, committed him to the custody of *Redmond Burke*, who carried him out of the countrey, making him lackie it by his horse side on foote like a common Horse-boy; and that in his absence his Countrey being thus distracted for want of a Head, the Earle of Ormond came with some forces preying, burning, and spoyling most part of his Countrey; and that he was forced to pay unto



*Redmond Burke* two hundred pound ransome after three moneths imprisonment with his ill vsage, concluding that it might well be beleaved, hee had small cause to doe those favours to *Iames fits Thomas* (which were suspected) considering hee had received those harmes and losses from him, who was never able to repayr him of the least part thereof. But it may well be conceived that the White Knight had not (untill he was so pressed by the President) made any diligent inquiry after him; and that if he had more timely sought it, he might sooner haue effected it.

Captaine *Slingsby* having now the Prisoner and the whole house and keyes committed over to his charge and keeping, setting his Guards and Sentinels both within the house and without, as was fitting for the Guard of so welcome a Prisoner, went to where the said *Iames* was to be his watch that night, and judging a man in his case not capable of any favour from Her Majestie (as being the principall cause of all the rebellion of Mounster, though otherwise none of the bloodiest enemies) could take no comfort in discourse, was silent by him, not willing to grieve him with discoursing on that which hee thought could not bee pleasing unto him, untill *Iames fits Thomas* himselfe first ministred occasion, who having had some notice what Captaine *Slingsby* was, after some complements, began in some sort to extenuate, though not to excuse his former faults to her Majestie, how he was inforced to take that title upon him, otherwise his brother *Iohn* would not haue beene so



nice in the accepting; and that hee never shed any English blood in the first insurrection, nor suffered any to doe it that hee could withhold (though many of his Followers did not so piously obserue it) but with the best respect of humanity did cause them to be sent out of the Countrey to the next coast Townes with the least offence that might be; and therefore hoped Her Majestie, who had extended her clemencie to farre greater crimes (though it was his hard fortune to bee so eminent a man in that action) she would now retract nothing of her wonted goodnesse and mercy: intimating withall his Father to bee elder brother to *Gerrot*, Earle of Desmond, who by the power of his Mother a second wife was disinherited, and her sonne, though a younger received and acknowledged for Earle of Desmond. With these and other discourses they spent the whole night untill it was day, when they made ready to goe to Corke to the Lord President, to deliver the Prisoner.

Vpon these reasons, the Prisoner at a Sessions (holden in Corke for that purpose) was indicted, arraigned, convicted, and adjudged, to bee executed as a notorious Traytor; which being done, the President advertised all the proceedings into England, and desired that he might be sent to the Tower of London, and there to remaine in prison; humbly praying that his life might bee spared, in policie of State; for whilst hee lived, his brother *Iohn* could not make any pretext to the Earledome; whereas to the contrary, he being dead, it was very probable that the Rebels



would set him up (for a new Idoll) in his place; whereof what inconveniences might ensue was apparent. These reasons although they are subject to every mans understanding that hath common sense; and therefore no marvell, that the Lord President should light upon them: Behold here what the Captive Earle himselfe doth say concerning that point, who being Prisoner in the Presidents house, having the favour to haue Paper and Inke; upon the third of Iune, one thousand sixe hundred and one, wrote this which insueth; humbly intreating the President to send it to Her Majestie, or to the Lords of her Councell in England, which hee performed in his next dispatch.

*The Relation of Iames of Desmond, to the Right Honourable Sir George Carew, Lord President of Mounster, most humbly beseeching your Honour to certifie Her Majesty, and the Lords of her most Honourable Councell of the same: Hoping in the Almighty, that Her Highnesse of her accustomed clemencie and mercy, by your intercession, will take most gracious and mercifull consideration thereof, to the end that Her Majesties Realme of Ireland shall be better planted, and maintained in good government by his release. The third of Iune, 1601.*

**F**irst it may please your Honour to consider, that this action at the beginning was never pretended, intended, nor drawn by mee, nor my consent; but by my Brother *Iohn*, and *Pierce Lacy*, having the oathes and promises of divers Noblemen, and Gentlemen of this Province, to maintaine the same, and not ever consented unto by me, untill Sir *Thomas Norris*



left Kilmallock, and the Irish forces camped at Rekeloe in Connolough, where they stayed five or six dayes; the most part of the Countrey combining and adjoyning with them, and undertooke to hold with my Brother *Iohn*, if I had not come to them; the next Sessions (before these proceedings) at Corke, Sir *Thomas Norris* arrested me (in person) therefore my Brother, he being then suspected by him, and intended to keepe me in perpetuall prison for him, untill I made my escape; by this the intent of Sir *Thomas Norris* being knowen, the feare and terrification thereof drew me into this action; and had I beene assured of my liberty, and not clapt up in prison for my Brothers offence, I had never entred into this action; Further, I was bordered with most English neighbours, of the Gentlemen of this Province, I defie any English that can charge me with hindring of them, either in body or goods; but as many as ever came in my presence, I conveyed them away from time to time

Also it is to bee expected, that the Spanish Forces are to come into Ireland this Summer, and *Oneale* will send up the strongest Army of Northern men into Mounster, with my Brother *Iohn*, the Lord of Lixnaw, and *Pierce Lacy*; and when they are footed in Mounster, the most part of the Countrey will joyne with them: Preventing this and many other circumstances of service, the saving of my life, is more beneficiall for Her Majestie then my death: For it may please Her Majestie to be gracious unto



me, I will reclaime my Brother, the Lord of Lixnaw, and *Pierce Lacy*, if it please Her Majesty to bee gracious unto them, or else so diligently worke against them with Her Majesties forces, and your directions, that they shall not be able to make head, or stirre in Mounster at all; for by the saving of my life, Her Highnesse will winne the hearts in generall of all her Subjects, and people in Ireland, my owne service, and continuance of my alliance in dutiful sort, all the dayes of their liues.

Farther, I most humbly beseech your Honour to foresee, that there are three others, of my Sept and race aliue; the one is in England, my Vncle *Garrets Sonne, James*, set at liberty by Her Majestie, and in hope to obtaine Her Majesties favour, my Brother in Vlster, and my Cosen *Maurice fits Iohn* in Spaine, wherewith it may be expected, that either of these (if I were gone) by Her Majesties favour might be brought in credit, and restored to the House: It may therefore please Her Majestie to bee gracious unto me, asuring to God and the world, that I will bee true and faithfull to Her Majestie during life: By which meanes Her Majesties government may bee the better settled; my selfe and all others my Alliance, for ever bound to pray for Her Majesties life, long to continue.

But afterward being examined by the President, and the Provinciall Councell: He added some other reasons for his taking of Armes against her Majestie, which in its due place shall bee mentioned: In the



dispatch which the President made into England upon his apprehension, he wrote a Letter to her Majestie as followeth.

*The Lord Presidents Letter to Her Majestie.*

SACRED AND DREAD SOVERAIGNE,

**T**O my unspeakeable Ioy, I haue received your Majesties Letters signed with your Royall hand, and blessed with an extraordinarie addition to the same, which although it cannot increase my faith and zeale in your Majesties Service, which from my cradle (I thanke God for it) was ingrafted in my Heart, yet it infinitely multiplies my comforts in the same; and wherein my endeavours and poore merites shall appeare to bee short of such inestimable favours, my never dying prayers for your Majesties eternall prosperitie, shal never faile to the last day of life; But when I compare the felicities, which other men enjoy, with my unfortunate Destinie, to bee deprived from the sight of your Royall person, which my heart with all loyall affection (inferiour to none) evermore attends, I liue like one lost to himselfe, and wither out my dayes in torment of minde, untill it shall please your sacred Majestie to redeeme mee from this exile, which unlesse it bee for my sinnes, (upon the knees of my heart) I doe humbly beseech your Majestie to commiserate, and to shorten the same, as



*spedily as may bee, since my time of banishment in this rebellious Kingdome, (for better then a banishment I cannot esteeme my fortune, that depriues mee from beholding your Majesties Person) although I haue not done as much as I desire in the charge I undergoe, yet to make it appeare that I haue not been idle, (I thanke God for it) I haue now at length, by the meanes of the White Knight, gotten into my hands the bodie of Iames fits Thomas that Arch-traytour, and usurping Earle, whom for a present with the best conveniencie and safetie which I may finde, I will by some trustie Gentleman send unto your Majestie, whereby I hope this Province is made sure from any present defection. And now that my taske is ended, I doe in all humilitie beseech, that in your Princely commiseration my exile may end, protesting the same to bee a greater affliction to mee then I can well indure: for as my faith is undivided, and onely professed, (as by divine and humane lawes the same is bound) in vassalage to your Majestie; so doth my heart covet nothing so much, as to bee evermore attendant on your sacred Person, accounting it a happinese unto mee, to dye at your feet: not doubting but that your Majestie out of your princely and royall bountie, will enable me by some meanes or other to sustaine the rest of my dayes in your service; and that my fortune shall not be the worse, in that I am not any importunate craver; Or yet in not using other arguments to mooue your Majestie*



*thereunto, then this, Assai dimanda qui ben serve e face. So most humbly beseeching your majesties pardon, in troubling you with these Lines, unworthy your divine eyes, doe kisse the shadowes of your Royall feet. From your Majesties Citie of Corke this third of Iune. 1601.*

I may well terme him a notorious Traytour, because hee was within one year before his apprehension, the most mightie and potent *Geraldine* that had been of any of the Earles of Desmond, his predecessors: For it is certainly reported, that he had eight thousand men well armed under his commaund at one time, all which hee imployed against his lawfull Soveraigne; and secondly, a notorious Traytour, because hee sought to bring a most infamous slaunder upon a most vertuous and renowned Prince, (his Queene and Mistress) with his false suggestions unto forraine Princes; and notwithstanding that her name was eternized with the shrill sounding trumpet of triumphant Fame, for the meekest and mildest prince that ever raigned, yet was not hee ashamed, (so farre had the rancour of malice corrupted his venemous heart) to inculcate into the Eares of the Pope and Spanish King, that shee was more tyrannicall than *Pharaoh*, and more blood-thirstie then *Nero*: But because I may bee thought to faine these allegations, to aggravate his treasons, I will therefore (for satisfaction of the Reader) set downe the very words of two his Letters, bearing one date, which hee sent to the King of Spaine,



*A Letter from James fits Thomas to the King  
of Spaine.*

**M**Ost mighty Monarch, I humbly salute your imperiall Majesty, giving your Highnesse to understand of our great misery, and violent order where-with wee are of long time opprest by the English Nation. Their government is such as *Pharaoh* himselfe never used the like; for they content not themselues with all temporall superiority, but by cruelty desire our blood, and perpetuall destruction, to blot out the whole remembrance of our posterity; as also our old Catholike Religion, and to sweare that the Queene of England is Supream of the Church. I referre the consideration hereof to your Majesties high judgement; for that *Nero* in his time was farre inferior to that Queene in cruelty. Wherefore, and for the respects thereof, high, mighty Potentate, my selfe, with my Followers and Retainers; And being also requested by the Bishops, Prelates, and religious men of my Countrey, haue drawn my sword, and proclaimed warres against them, for the recovery first of Christs Catholike religion, and next for the maintenance of my own right, which of long time hath beene wrongfully detained from mee and my father, who by right succession was lawfull Heire to the Earledome of Desmond; for hee was eldest sonne to *Iames* my Grandfather, who was Earle of Desmond; and for that Vncle *Gerald* ( being the younger brother )



tooke part with the wicked proceedings of the Queene of England, to farther the unlawfull claime of supremacye, vsurped the name of Earle of Demsond in my fathers true title; yet notwithstanding hee had not long enjoyed his name of Earle when the wicked English annoyed him, and prosecuted wars, that hee with the most part of those that held of his side, was slaine, and his country thereby planted with Englishmen: And now by the just judgement and providence of God, I haue utterly rooted those malepart bowes out of the Orchard of my countrey, and haue profited so much in my proceedings, that my dastardly enemies dare not shew their faces in any part of my countrey, but having taken my Townes and Cities, for their refuge and strength, where they doe remaine (as yet were prisoners) for want of means to assaile them, as Cannon and Powder which my Countrey doth not yeeld. Having these wants most noble Potentate; I haue presumed with all humility to addresse these my Letters to your High Majestie, craving the same of your gracious clemencie and goodnesse, to assist mee in this godly enterprize, with some helpe of such necessities for the warres, as your Majestie shall thinke requisit; and (after the quiet of my Countrey) satisfaction shall bee truely made for the same, and my selfe in person with all my forces, shall bee ready to serue your highnesse in any Countrey your Majestie shall command me.

And if your Majestie will vouchsafe to send me a competent number of Souldiers, I will place them in



some of my Townes and Cities, to remaine in your gracious disposition, till such time as my ability shall make good, what your Majestie shall lend me in money and munition: and also your Majesties high Commission under the broad Seale for leading and conducting of these Souldiers, according to the prescript order and articles of martiall discipline, as your Majestie shall appoint me, and as the service of the Land shall require. I praise the Almighty God, I haue done by his goodnesse more than all my predecessors; for I haue reclaimed all the Nobility of this part under the dutifull obedience of Christs Church, and mine owne authority, and accordingly haue taken pledges, and corporall oathes, never to swarue from the same; and would haue sent them to your Majestie, by this Bearer, but that the ship was not of sufficiencie and strength to carry so noble personages, and will send them whensoever your Hig-nesse please. So there resteth nothing to quiet this part of the world; but your Majesties assistance, which I daily expect: Thus most mighty Monarch, I humbly take my leaue, and doe kisse your Royall hands, beseeching the Almighty of your Majesties health and happinesse: From my Campe the fourteenth day of March, 1599.

Your Majesties most humble  
at all command

*James Desmond*



*An other Letter from Iames Fits Thomas to the  
King of Spaine.*

**Y**Our Majestie shall uunderstand, that the bearer hereof Captaine *Andrew Roche*, hath beene always in the seruice of the Queene of England, and hath performed her manifold services at Sea: whereby he had great preferment and credit, and being of late time conversant with Catholikes, and teachers of divine Instructions, that were sory for his lewd life, made known unto him the danger wherein his soule was; so that by their godly perswasions, hee was at that time reclaimed, and subverted to bee a good Catholike, and to spend the residue of his life in the defence and service of the Church; since which time of reconcilement, hee was to repaire to your Majestie with his Ship and Goods, as is well known to your Highnesse Councell, who confiscated that Ship to your Majesties use; himselfe being at that time stricken with extreame sicknesse, that hee was not able to proceed in the voyage; and when his Company returned into Ireland, they reported that the Lantado wished rather his person then the Ship, which made him fearefull ever since to repaire thither, till hee should deserue his freedome by some worthy service to your Majestie.

The Heire apparant to the Crowne of England, had beene carried by him to your Highnesse, but that he was bewrayed by some of his owne men, and thereby was intercepted, and himselfe taken Prisoner, where he remained of long, till by the Providence of God,



and the helpe of good friends, hee was conveyed into Ireland to mee in a small boat; and leaving these occasions to your Imperiall Majesty, and being assured of his trust, faith, and confidence towards mee, haue committed this charge into his hands; the rather for that I understand your Royall Fleete is directed for England this yeare, to the end he may be a Leader and Conductor to them in the Coast of England and Ireland, being very expert in the knowledge thereof, and in the whole art of Navigation. And thus with all humility I commit your highnesse to the Almighty: From my Campe the fourteenth of March, 1599

Your Majesties most humble  
at all command.

*James Desmond.*

Consider I beseech thee gentle Reader, into what proud arrogancie, and audacious insolency this Arch-traytor was elevated (like a Vapor in a Sunshine day) when blind fortune laught upon him; the Queene a Tyrant, the English all cowards, the Cities and walled Townes all his, and the Mounster Nobilitie subdued under his authority; was there ever a Rebelle so farre transported with ambitious presumption, beyond the limits of reason? was it not sufficient for him like cursed *Shimei*, or blacke mouthed railing *Rabshakeh*, to revile the Lords annoynted, but he must challenge her territories, her Cities, her People, and her Nobilitie (whom shee and her ancestors had created) to be his owne, who had no portion nor in-



heritance in any part thereof, being the Impe of a borne Bastard. But surely I must perswade my selfe, all this was permitted by the unsearchable sapience of the allseeing Deity, who even as hee caused proud *Lucifer* to bee throne from the Chaire of highest Majestie, (whereunto hee presumed) into the lowest Dungeon of darke obscurity, for ever to bee tormented; so did hee suffer this aspiring *Absolon*, to magnifie himselfe in the height of vaine glory, *Vt lapsu graviore ruat*, that being throwen headlong downe from the Pinnacle of ambition, he might for ever bee poynted at as an exemplary mirror for all insolent Traytors.

Whilest hee remayned Prisoner in Shandon, the President thought good to send for him oftentimes, before himselfe and the Councell, and there to examine him upon such particulars, as they thought most materiall for the advancement of the present service. And amongst the rest, they questioned him concerning the originall causes and principall motiues, that induced this late rebellion in Mounster; hee answered that the foundation principally was religion, then the Vndertakers encroaching upon Gentlemens lands, the feare of English Iuries passing upon Irish mens liues, the taking notice of slight evidence upon such arraignements, the generall feare conceived of the safetie of their liues, by the example of the execution of *Redmond fits Gerald* and *Donghe Mac Craghe*, and the great charge (which was yeerely exacted) for Her Majestie out of every Plough land within the Province, called the composition rent;



and because these his pretences, doe not much vary from the allegations (surmised) by *Oliver Hussie*, a Schoole-master, a most pernicious member in this traiterous combination, I haue thought fit to interpose the same in this place. This *Hussie* therefore examined upon the same Interrogatories, answered as followeth.

First the Countrey was (much against their wils) driven to pay composition to the Queene, for three years upon certaine Covenants: These Covenants were not observed on her Majesties part, nor yet the composition ceased at the determination of the said tearme: Wherefore they thought the Composition would not only bee continued, but also augmented, from time to time, at the pleasure of their Superiors, till they should be weary of their Lands: Many new and extraordinary wayes were sought out in concealements (and such like) to the great discomfort and feare of Landlords and Freeholders.

The extortions and unlawful dealings of Sherifs and other like officers, to rob the Countrey-men of their goods; for they did use to keepe many Courts (for gaine) and not for Iustice, they did use to bring many Writs from Dublin, for very small causes; they did use to buy old caveling titles, to receiue bribes, for not going to poore Gentlemens houses, and other like inconveniences.

The continuall vexation by Processes from the spirituall Court, where by Fines and Bribes (to saue mens consciences) they were greatly grieved, and specially by the High Commission.



The manner of execution of *Donoghe Mac Craghe*, and *Redmond fits Gerald*, and seeking of *Thomas fits Maurice* his blood, did greatly discomfort them, fearing that every of their liues were in like danger.

The severall examinations of these two (being both deeply ingaged in the action I have therefore inserted into this present relation, First that the world may bee satisfied, upon what weake pretexts, and imaginary supposed conjectures the Rebellion was grounded: And therefore the former scandalous suggestions which Hell had devised, and the Popes damned Legat had forged against Her Majestie, were the more abominable And secondly, that those Officers that should succeed in governing this kingdome, might carefully shun, and warily avoid all Bribery, Corruption, and Partiality, that the ex-clayming mouths of there discontented people may bee either altogether shut, or else opening the same, the may spue out nothing but their own shame. But to proceed.

About the begining of this Moneth of Iune, the President received gracious Letters from Her sacred Majestie, wherein she acknowledging her thankfulness for his services, and signified her pleasure unto him concerning base monies, and withall shee sent the proclamation, and the articles betweene her and Sir *George Cary* Knight, Treasurer of Ireland, touching the exchange for the alteration of the said monies, all which doe here ensue.



## CHAP. III.

*A Letter from Her Majesty to the Lord President concerning base Monies.*

*A Proclamation concerning base Monies. Articles betweene Her Majesty and the Treasurer at Warres for Ireland, concerning base Monies.*

A Letter from her Maiestie to the Lord President  
concerning base Moneys.

Your loving Sovereaigne,

ELIZABETH R.

**T**Rustie and wellbeloved, *Wee greet you well. Although We haue forborne when we intended to haue made knowen unto you by some expresse testimonie from Our selfe, Our acceptation of your Services, yet We haue given particular charge to Our Councell, that they should in our Name make you perceiue our liking of your proceedings, in such sort, as you might not conceiue that either the report of them came not to our eares, or that you served a Prince not willing to acknowledge the good merits of her Servants. But now that cause is ministered vnto vs, to giue charge vnto you of other matters specially concerning our service; We thought it convenient to incourage you to that which followeth, by thanksgiving for that what is past, and by assuring you by our owne Letters, that as you haue not deceived our expectation of your sufficiencie, or our trust reposed in your faith, So will not wee be wanting on our part to manifest how acceptable these things are vnto vs,*



*whensoever Wee finde them in any one, whom Wee haue conferred trust in imployment. The matter that now Wee thinke meet to acquaint you with, is that having found by long experience, that the using of sterling moneys in the payment of our Armie there and for our other Services, doeth bring marveilous inconveniencies both to that Realme, and to this; And that the wisdom of all our Progenitors (for the most part) did maintaine a difference betweene the Coynes of both Realmes, (that in Ireland being ever inferiour in goodnesse to that of this Realme) howsoever by errour of late crept in it, hath beene otherwise tollerated to the infinite losse of this Kingdome, Our Moneyes being out of that Realme transported into forraine Countreyes, for lacke of Marchandize. We haue thought it reason to reviuue the ancient course of our Progenitors in that matter of Moneyes, and haue caused a Coine proper for that Our realme of Ireland, to bee stamped heere, of such a Standard as Wee finde to haue beene in use for the same, and doe now send a great quantitie thereof thither by our Treasurer at Warres, to bee employed for the payment of Our armie, and for other uses, and the same doe authorise by Our Prolamation, and decree all other Moneys. In the establishing of which course, as we doubt not but Our Deputie and Councell there, will as they are by Vs commanded, proceed according to such directions as wee haue given them: So because the Province (whereof you haue charge) is a place of most Traffique of any*



other of that Kingdome, and therefore in it, it is most likely that Marchants at the first shew of such an innovation, will for private respects bee most opposite: Wee haue thought it fit to giue you particular notice of this our purpose, and to require you to use all your authoritie and your judgment likewise oward our people there, as well of the Townes as others, to make this new course pleasing and well liking to them, vpon such reasons as are contained in our Proclamation, publishing the same, and as you may gather touching the same out of such other matters as haue passed from vs to our Deputie and Councell there, or betweene vs and our Treasurer for Ireland concerning this matter, whereof wee haue given order, that herewith Copies shall bee sent unto you, by which you will be sufficiently instructed of apparent reasons to leade vs to doe it, although it be a matter which wee need not make gracious with any reason at all, being meerely dependant of our Prerogative, to alter the Standerd of our Moneys at our pleasure. Wherefore, though we nothing doubt of your forwardnesse, to further whatsoever wee finde reason to command: Yet we require you in this thing, as a matter which wee would haue well founded in the first establishing, to giue all attention of it as well by your owne actions, as by assisting Our Treasurer and his Deputies in uttering of these newe Moneyes, and bringing in all others according to the course of Our Exchange, which by Our Proclamation, you may perceiue that wee haue instituted to



*make the matter better accepted of Our people. Given vnder Our Signet at Our Mannour of Greenwich this sixteenth day of May, one thousand six hundred and one, in the three and fortieth yeere of Our Raigne.*

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*The Copie of the Proclamation for  
publishing the new Money  
for Ireland.*

**T**He Queenes most excellent Majestie finding by the Records of both her Realmes of England and Ireland, that in the times of divers of her Progenitors, Kings, of England and Ireland, it hath beene accustomed as a thing by them found convenient for good of the loyall Subjects of both Realmes; that there should bee a difference betweene the Standerds of the monies allowed to bee currant, in each of her said Realmes; and knowing by many Lawes of this her Realme of England; and namely by one made in the third yeare, and another in the nineteenth yeare of Her Majesties Grandfather of famous memory King *Henry* the seventh, that the transportation of monies of the Coyne and Standard of England, into that his Realme of Ireland is severely forbidden under great penalties; perceiving also by experience in some part heretofore, but more fully and apparently now of late yeares, since the last rebellions (which haue caused Her Majestie to send



great summes of money into that Realme for the paiment of her Armie, & for other services) that a great part of such monies into that Realme sent, doe either come into the hands of the Rebels, by divers slights and cunnings of theirs, who by the use and meanes thereof, trafficking in forraine Countries, doe releue themselves with such warlicke provisions as they need; as with Powder, Lead, Match, Armour and Weapons of all sorts, and with Wines, Cloath, and other necessaries; without which they could not possibly so long subsist in their treasonable courses, and bring so huge Calamities to the rest of her good Subjects, and waste the whole Realme; or else the said sterling monies, aswell in respect of their goodnesse, being better then the monies of other Countries, is also for want of merchandize wherein to employ them; which that Countrey now specially since the Rebellion doth not yeeld, are partly by Merchants Strangers, and partly by the naturall Merchants of the Countrey (vsing trade in forraine Countries) transported from thence into the said Countries, to the inestimable losse and impoverishment aswell of that Realme of Ireland, as also chiefly of this Her Majesties Realme of England: Hath therefore in Her Majesties princely wisdom, entered into consideration with the advice of her Privie Councell, how these great inconveniences might be avoyded; and found after long and serious debating, that the readiest way to prevent the same, is to reduce the State of her Monies and Coynes, to the ancient



course of her Progenitors, that is, to a difference in finenes, betweene the monies of this Realme of England, and that her Realme of Ireland: And for that purpose hath caused great quantities of moneys, according to the ancient Standard, which was in use for this Realme in the dayes of Her Majesties Father, Brother, and Sister, to bee coyned here into severall peeces of shillings, sixpences, and peeces of three-pence, stamped with Her Highnesse Armes crowned and inscription of her vsuall stile, on the one side, and on the other with the Harpe crowned, being the Armes of that her Kingdome of Ireland with the insription, *Posui deum Adjutorem meum*, and also certaine peeces of small moneyes of meere Copper of pence, halfepence, and farthings, for the use of the poorer sort, stamped on each side as the other: And the same moneyes so coyned hath sent into her said Realme of Ireland, there to bee established as the lawfull and current moneys of that Realme, and so to bee uttered and issued as well to the Armies and Officers in payments to them, as also to all other her subjects of that Realme and others there abiding, or thither resorting for trifficke, and intercourse of buying, selling, and all other manner of trading amongst themselues; which sayd Coynes, as well of Silver of three ounces fine, as also of meere Copper for small Moneys, her Majestie doeth hereby publish and make knownen to all men, to be from thencefoorth, immediately after the publishing of this Proclamation, her Coyne of Moneys established and authorised to



bee lawfull and currant within that her Realme of Ireland, and proper to that Kingdome, and doeth expressly will and command the same to bee so used, reputed, and taken of all her subjects of that Realme, and of all others conversing there; And doth expressly charge and command, that they, nor any of them, shall not after the day of the publishing heereof, refuse, reject, or denie to receiue in payment of Wages, Fees, Stipend, or in payment of debts, or in Bargaine, or for any other matter of Trade, Commerce or dealing betweene Man and Man, any of the said Moneys of either kind, either mixt of Siluer, or pure Copper, but that they shall receiue and accept the same at such values and rates as they are coyned for, *viz* shillings, for shillings, pieces of sixpence for sixpence and so of all other the severall kinds of that Coyne respectiuely; Denouncing hereby to all such as shall be found wilfully, and obstinately to refuse the said Moneys of this New Standerd, being tendered unto them in payments, or in any dealings betweene partie and partie, that they shall for that their contempt, receiue such punishment, as by her Majesties Prerogative Royall may be inflicted upon persons contemning publique Orders established for the universall good of that her Realme: And to the end the said Moneys may the better haue their due course and passage among her Majesties subjects of that Realme, and the good intended to both the Realmes, the more speedily take place: Her Majestie doth hereby also publish and make knowne that her



pleasure is, that after the day of this present Proclamation, all other Moneys heretofore established, tollerated, or used as lawfull or currant Moneyes within that Kingdome, shall bee decryed, anulled, and called downe, and no other Moneyes, of what Coyne, Nature, Mixture, Allay or Finenesse, now used in that Realme of Ireland, bee they either Moneys of her Majesties owne Coyne and stampe, currant here in her Realme of England, or if any her Predecessors, or of any forraine Realmes permitted heretofore to be currant there, shall bee any longer currant within her Realme of Ireland nor offered, nor received by any person there inhabiting, or there conversing in any manner of dealing amongst men, but that all such Moneys be from that day forward held and esteemed for Bullion onely, meet to bee moulten downe and brought into her Majesties Mint, or Exchange, there as heretofore is expressed; although this open and publike notification of her Majesties pleasure, bee and ought to be to all her Subjects, and others being in that her Realme, a sufficient declaration and warning, as well of the authorizing of the New Moneys of the New Standerd, now appoynted to be currant, and also the calling downe, and decrying of all other Moneys whatsoever, from any use there either publique or private: Yet her Highnesse being a Prince, that in her gracious disposition, doth ever affect to make all her Actions cleare and allowable, in their owne nature rather than in the power of supreame authoritie, intending in this cause to giue to all persons such sa-



tisfaction as is reasonable. And in the dayes of Her Progenitors, when such Moneys were in use, was not offered, doth likewise heereby make knowne, that shee hath established an Exchange to bee had and maintained in convenient places, in both her kingdoms of England and Ireland; as namely in Ireland, at *Dublin, Corke, Gallway, and Carrigfergus*; and in England at *London, Bristow* and at *Chester*, at which places shall bee from hencefoorth continually resident, Officers of her appoyntment and in other places also of both the Realmes, where it shall bee found convenient for the ease of her Subjects; At which places, and by which Officers, all her Subjects of either her Realmes of England and Ireland, and all others resorting into her said Realme of Ireland, in trade and Marchandise, and otherwise, shall and may, from time to time, exchange and commute, as well Moneys currant of England, into Moneys of this new Standerd of Ireland; as also Moneys of this Standerd of Ireland into Moneys of the Standerd of England, at their pleasure, in a manner as is hereafter expressed.

First all persons being either Her Majesties Subjects, or the Subjects of any Prince or State, in amity with Her Majestie, who shall bring to any place of Exchang within Ireland any monies of the Coyne of her Realme of England, or of the Coynes of any forraine Countries, or any plate or bullion, being of the Standard of England, or better, desiring to receiue for the same in England, now is currant of England, shall receiue from the Officer in Ireland a bill directed to such place of



Exchange in England, where the partie shall desire to haue his payment: By which bill hee shall receiue of the Officer in England, not onely monies of England, valew for valew, by tale or by weight, of the Monies, Plate, or Bullion delivered in Ireland, but also an overplus of sixe pence English, money upon every twentie shillings English, by him delivered, by tale, or of eightene pence English upon every pound weight of such Monies, Plate, or Bullion delivered by the partie by weight; and after the same rate for more or lesse, in quantity or number, delivered by weight or tale

*Item,* all persons being Her Majesties Subjects, or the Subjects of any Prince or State in amity with Her Majestie, which shall haue in their hands any quantity or summe of the monies of this new Coyne appointed for Her Majesties Realme of Ireland, and shall be desirous to receiue for the same in England, monies currant of England, and thereupon shall deliver to any of Her Majesties Officers of the Exchange in Ireland, such summes of money as hee is desirous so to exchange, hee shall receiue of the said Officers in Ireland, a bill directed to such place of Exchange in England, as shall bee desired by the deliverer, by which Bill hee shall recline of the Officer in England, to whom the same is directed, the like summe of monies of England by tale, as by the Bill it shall appeare, he shall haue delivered in Ireland wanting onely twelue pence in the pound: So as for every twentie



shillings of the new Coyne of Ireland, delivered in Ireland, hee shall haue in England nineteene shillings, currant monie of England, and after the same rate for more or lesse in quantity delivered in Ireland.

*Item*, if any such person having in his hands, within the Realme of Ireland monies currant of England, shall bee desirous to exchange the same there for monies now appointed to be currant in Ireland; the Officers of the Exchange there to whom hee shall bring any summe of English money to bee exchanged, shall deliver to him for every twentie shillings of English money received, one and twenty shillings of the Coyne of Ireland, and after that rate for more or lesse in quantitie received.

*Item*, if any person being her Majesties Subject, or otherwise, having cause to resort into the Realme of Ireland, shall be desirous to exchange monies currant of England into monies currant of Ireland for his use there, and shall deliver to that end any English monies, to any of Her Majesties Officers of exchange here in England, the said Officers shall deliver unto the said person, a bill directed to such place of Exchange in Ireland, as the deliverer shall require, by which Bill the Officer of the Exchange in Ireland receiving the same, shall deliver to the Bringer thereof for every twenty shillings English, delivered in England, one and twentie shillings of the new Coyne of Ireland, in Ireland, and after the same rate for more or lesse in quantity delivered.



And whereas there are at this present, divers old Coynes of base allay within that Her Majesties Realme of Ireland, vsed and passed in payments betweene men, which being now decryed, adnulled, and called downe, Her Majestie doth thinke fit, to haue the same brought in and reduced to one vni-forme Coyne of this new Standard; Her Highnesse is therefore pleased that every person who shall haue in his hands any quantity of such base Coyne, and shall bring in the same to any of her Officers of her Exchange there in Ireland, that the Officer receiving the same, shall deliver to the Bringer, money for money, or valew for valew, of the monies of this new Standard, now appointed to bee currant in Ireland,

And forasmuch as this notorious inconvenience aforesaid, cannot bee prevented, without there bee a due observation of such Lawes of this Realme of England, as heretofore haue beene made, restrayning the transporting of the monies currant in England into that Realme of Ireland, in *Specie*, wherein great disorder hath beene of late yeares committed, and thereby great inconveniences ensued; Her Majestie doth straightly charge and command, all Magistrates and Officers, to whom it shall appertaine, to see severe execution of such Lawes as doe prohibit the transportation of her Coyne of England into Ireland; and namely one Statute made in the nineteenth yeare of the raigne of Her Majesties Grandfather of famous memory King *Henry* the seventh. Her Majesties pur-



pose being (by this Proclamation) to admonish all her Subjects of both her Realmes, and all others trading in her Realme of Ireland, that they shall from henceforth forbear all transportation of monies of England into Ireland, for that Her Majestie will cause the former Lawes (prohibiting the said transportation of money) to be so straightly looked into and executed, as the penalties thereof, shall fall heavy upon the Offenders against the same without any hope of remission.

*The Copie of certaine Articles contained in  
the Indentures, betweene Her Majes-  
tie, and Sir George Cary, Treasur-  
er of Ireland, touching the  
Exchange established up-  
on the alteration  
of Monies.*

**I** Tem, the said Sir George Cary doth covenant, &c. That hee shall and will mainetaine for the better exercise of the said Exchange, according to her Majesties princely meaning, three Officers at the least within the Cities of London, Bristoll and Westchester, or so many, and in such convenient places as hee shall thinke meete, discrete persons to be there continually residing by themselves, or their sufficient deputies to attend the said Exchange, and to performe the same according to the establishment. And other officers also in other parts of this her Majesties Realme of



England (if cause shall require) and likewise to place and maintaine at fower severall port Townes within her Majesties Realme of Ireland, *viz* Dublin, Corke, Galway, and Carrigfergus, or at such of them as shall bee found requisit other officers who shall be there continually resident by themselues, or their sufficient deputies to attend her Majesties subjects for the exchange of their monies according to the establishment; and if cause shall require, other officers also or under ministers in other places of the said Realme of Ireland, for the ease of her Majesties subjects.

*Item*, the said Sir *George Carie* doth covenant, &c. to discharge and acquite her Majestie of all Fees, Allowances, and wages, needfull for any of the sayd Officers, or Vnder-ministers aboue mentioned, and them to maintaine, entertaine, and wage at his owne costs and charges, for and in consideration of a summe of two thousand pounds of the Moneys of this new Standerd of Ireland, mentioned in another Article of this Indenture, to bee by her Majestie allowed unto him for the Fee of himselfe, and all other Officers necessarie to bee had and used for and about this Exchange, as well in *England* as in *Ireland*; The sayd allowance of two thousand pound *per annum*, to take beginning, and to bee due unto him, from the first day of *May* now next ensuing the date hereof, and to continue during the time of the Exchange: And the Queenes Majestie our said Sovereigne Lady, doth



covenant and agree to and with the sayd Sir *George Carey*, that hee as \_\_\_\_\_ of her Highnesse sayd Exchange, shall haue full power, authoritie, and libertie, to make choyce of all Officers, and under-officers, needfull to bee had and imployed, for, and about the exercise and maintenance of his Exchange, as well within this her Highnesse Realme of *England*, as in *Ireland*, and them and every of them to nominate and place, and to them to assigne such Fees and entertainments as hee shall thinke convenient, and all and every the sayd Officers to remooue, alter, or displace, as often as to him shall be thought good, and others in their places and roomes to substitute without any interruption of her Highnesse, in or concerning the same.

*Item*, our said Soveraigne Lady doth covenant and agree, to and with the sayd Sir *George Carey*, and by these presents doth giue him power and authoritie, in and for performance of one breach of her Highnesse Proclamation aboue specified, whereby all persons are invited to bring in all manner of sterling Moneys, or if any other Standards, or like finenesse, or better, into her Exchange in *Ireland*, that hee the sayd Sir *George Carey*, shall and may allow to all bringers in of such Money, Plate, or Bullion, aboue the just and true value thereof, the summe of eighteene pence currant money of *England*, upon every pound weight, or sixpence upon every twentie shillings by tale; the same to bee taken, defaulted, and allowed by the



sayd Sir *George Carey*, out of such profits as doe arise unto her Highnesse upon this Exchange.

And our Soveraigne Lady doeth covenant and agree, to and with the sayd Sir *George Carey*, and by these presents doeth warrant and authorise him, that to all her subjects of her Realmes of *England* and *Ireland*, and to all Strangers, Merchants, or others, being subjects of such Princes or States as are in amitie with her Highnesse, which shall bring to any place, for the Exchange appoynted within the Realme of *Ireland*, any Moneyes of this new Standard of *Ireland*, and desire to receiue for the same, moneyes currant of *England* heere within this Realme of England, That the sayd Sir *George Carey*, may deliver unto them and every of them here in England, moneys currant of this her Realme, by tale, for tale, viz. twentie shillings sterling, for every twentie shillings of her new Coyne, detaining only, and rebating to her Highnesse use, twelue pence sterling upon every twentie shillings so to bee delivered for twentie shillings of her sayd new Coyne, and after the same rate for more or lesse in quantitie.

*Item*, our sayd Soveraigne Lady doeth covenant and agree, &c. That hee shall and may to all persons which within her Highnesse realme of *Ireland*, shall at any of the places for the Exchange appoynted, deliver to him or his Deputies, the value of twenty shillings sterling, in money, plate, or bullion, and de-



sire to receiue for the same, moneys Irish of this new coyne, for every value of twenty shillings, the summe of one and twenty shillings eight pence Irish by tale, and after the same rate for more or lesse in quantitie.

And our Soveraigne Ladie, &c. That hee or his Assignes shall or may to all and every persons, which at any of the places for the Exchange appoynted, heere within this Realme of England, shall deliver any Moneys, Plate, or Bullion of the Standerd of England, to the end to receiue for the same, within the Realme of Ireland, moneyes of the new Coyne of that Realme, pay, or deliver unto them for the value of euery twenty shillings sterling, one and twenty shillings Irish by the tale, and after that rate for more or lesse in quantitie.

*Item*, our said Soveraigne Lady, &c. That hee shall and may, to all and every persons, bringing into any place for the exchange appointed in Ireland, monies of base allay, heretofore currant, or now vsed within the Realme, deliver by himselfe or his deputies, like quantities by weight of the monies of this new Coyne, as he or his deputies shall receiue of any such old base monies by weight.

*Item*, our said Soveraigne Lady doth, &c. That she wil allow unto the said Sir *Geo. Cary*, or his Assignes for the charges of transportation of the monies of this new Coyne, from her Tower of London into her Majesties said Realme of Ireland, aswell to the



Citie of Dublin, as to any other places where Exchanges are to be established, or payments to bee made for her service, after the rate of twentie pounds of this new Standard, upon every thousand pound of the same coyne, the same to bee allowed unto him upon his account, as her Majesties Treasurer at warres in Ireland.

*Item*, our said Sovereaigne Lady doth, &c. That whensoever and as often as any of the monies of this new Standard of Ireland, after their first uttering, in payment to her Highnesse Armie there, being brought backe againe to the Exchange to be converted in sterling, or otherwise shall by her Majesties commandement bee uttered againe for her Highnesse service in payment of her Armie, or otherwise: That so often her Highnesse will allow to the said Sir *George Cary* or his Assignes, after the rate of ten pounds of this new Standard, upon every thousand pounds of the same coyne by tale, the same to bee allowed unto him, upon his account as Treasurer of her Highnesse warres in Ireland.

*Item*, our said Sovereaigne Lady doth, &c. That shee will allow unto the said Sir *George Cary* for all such summes of money, as shall by her Highnesse from time to time, bee sent or delivered out of her Exchequer, for the furnishing & maintenance of this Exchange after the rate of                      upon every thousand pounds by tale, The said Sir *George Cary* taking upon him the charges and expence, of conveying her Majes-



ties said Treasure unto the places where the same shall bee vsed for the exchange.

*Item* our said Soveraigne Lady doth, &c. That all hazard and danger hapning in the transportation of this her majesties monies, out of her Realme of England into Ireland, either by wrecke of Sea or tempest, or by violence of enemies, shall bee at the only perill of our said Soveraigne Lady her Heires and Successors, as, heretofore it hath beene in like cases; the said Sir *George Cary* making prooffe, that hee his deputies or Assignes, having charge of the said transportation, haue vsed all such care, heed, and diligence, for the safe conveyance thereof, as they would or might haue done for the assurance of their owne goods, or as heedfull provident men use to doe for the safetie of their goods in like adventures.

*Item*, our sayd Soveraigne Lady doth, &c. That shee shall and will from time to time, furnish and deliver to the said Sir *George Cary*, or his Assignes, all such summes of money as shall bee requisite and needfull for Exchanging, and converting of this new Irish Coyne into moneys of the Standerd of England, according to her Majesties Proclamation, after the rate of one fourth part at the least, of such quantities of this Irish moneys, as her Majestie shall cause to be coyned from time to time, or after a greater rate (if it shall appeare by experience) that a greater portion then a fourth part of the same shal be returned to the Exchange.



*Item*, our sayd Soveraigne Ladie doth, &c. That if at any time heereafter her Majestie shall thinke good to cease the Exchange, and not to continue the converting of Irish moneys into sterling, and that it shall happen, that at such time there shall bee remaining in the hands of the sayd Sir *George Carey* any quantities of Irish Monies, great or small, not issued for her Majesties service, that in such case her Highnesse will accept, and allow unto the said Sir *George Cary* upon his account all such summes of money at such rate, and valew as the same were delivered unto him, to bee issued in payment for her service

And further, her Majestie doth covenant, &c. That for the defraying of all Wages, Fees, and Stipends, as well to him the said Sir *George Cary* as of the Exchanges, as also to all other Officers needfull to bee established for the exercise of the same, either within the Realme of England or in Ireland, wheresoever her Highnesse doth, and will, allow unto the said Sir *George Cary* the summe of two thousand pounds of the monies of this new Standard, by the yeare to bee taken unto him and stayed in his owne hands out of such profits, as upon the exchange doth arise unto her Majestie: The said allowance of two thousand pounds *per annum*, to take beginning the first day of May now next ensuing the date hereof, and to continue during all the time that the Exchange shall be upheld



## CHAPTER V.

*A Regiment sent by the Lord President into Connaght. Intelligence of the Spanyards comming for Ireland, brought to the Lord President sundry wayes. Iames fits Thomas his report of Florence Mac Cartie. Dermond Mac Awlies report of the Counsell held in Vlster for the Spanyards landing.*

**T**HE Affayres of Mounster thus digested, the President, according to the Lord Deputies directions, expedited (with munition and victuals) one thousand Foot into Connaght, under the command of Sir *Francis Barkley*.

The list of the Captaines and Companies, were as followeth, *viz.*

|                                    |            |
|------------------------------------|------------|
| Sir <i>Francis Barkley</i> ,       | 100. Foot. |
| Sir <i>Richard Percie</i> ,        | 150        |
| Sir <i>Gerrard Harvie</i> ,        | 150        |
| Sir <i>Edward fits Gerald</i> ,    | 100        |
| Sir <i>John Dowdall</i> ,          | 100        |
| Captaine <i>Iohn Bostocke</i> ,    | 100        |
| Captaine <i>George Kingsmill</i> , | 100        |
| Captaine <i>George Blunt</i> ,     | 100        |
| Captaine <i>William Power</i> ,    | 100        |

Besides fiftie Horse under the command of Captaine *Richard Greame*; which Regiment was sent to giue countenance unto the service of Ballishanon, intended by Sir *Henry Docwray*, although the President was very loath to spare them at this time, for the ru-



mour of Spanish preparations for Ireland, (which had been secretly whispered all this Spring) was now strongly conceited, and confidently beleev'd by all the Irish; And moreover, certaine Advertisment hereof was daily brought unto the President from the Irish Merchants Factors in Spaine, from the Priests in Italy to the Irish Lords; from the English in France to their private Friends, all of them agreeing in one; adde heereunto the constant Asseverations of *Iames fits-Thomas* the titular Earle, then a condemned prisoner, who after his Apprehension and condemnation, being often examin'd, was still confident of the Spaniards comming; and being demaund'd his cause of knowledge, answered, That the Spanish Fryer *Don Matheo de Oviedo*, (whom they call Archbishop of Dublin) did assure him of the Kings pleasure therein, and to hasten the same, hee tooke his journey from Spaine in February last, leaving great store of plate and other riches for a pledge behind him.

And being farther examined concerning *Florence Mac Carty*, hee answered that the said *Florence*, did ever by sight (or otherwise) acquaint him with what the President wrote unto him, and did continually sweare, protest, and giue all outward assurance, never to desist in this action, but to persevere therein to the end; and that the Spaniards and Rebels of Ulster did build their principall hopes of Mounster, upon himselfe and *Florence Mac Carty*: all this was also verified by certaine intelligences, which the Lord *Barry* received from *Dermond Mac Awley* lately



come from the North, the effect whereof was thus much: When the Spanish Arch-bishop was to returne into Spaine in February last, there was a Councell holden in Vlster by *Tyrone Odonnell*, the said Bishop, and all the chiefe Traytors of those parts, *Iohn of Desmond*, *Lixnaw*, *Pierce Lacy*, *Donoghe Mac Cormock*, and this *Dermond Mac Awley*, being called thereupon; the chieftest matter debated in this consolation was, what place of Ireland was the most convenient, where the Spanish forces should make their arrivall. It was without much difficulty or gainesaying resolved, for all respects Mounster was the fittest Province to be invaded; then it remayned to consider what place in that Province they should first attempt; and concerning this point the Mounster men were required to deliver their opinions: *Pierce Lacy* began and urged certaine reasons, why hee thought it most requisit for them first to gaine Limerick, and plant there, because the Provinces of Connaght and Linster were neere at hand, to minister aide to the Spanish Armie, and Vlster was not farre distant, being also the place most remote from England, especially for shipping: All the rest being induced by these reasons to subscribe unto his opinion, *Donoghe Mac Cormock* stood up, and withstood this Councell, saying that *Mac Cartie more* (from whose mouth he said he spake it) upon mature deliberation, did advise their comming to Corke; for the taking of that place would bee of most importance, as well for the countenancing of the action (where the President most resided) as the magazins of victuals and munitions were placed there,



and also it being a farre better outlet then the River of Limerick, the Citie weaker and sooner forced: And lastly in landing there, they should border upon *Barry, Roche, Cormock, Mac Dermond, and Mac Carthy, Reughe*; all which for feare of their estates, were partially affected to the English, and by that meanes, either constraine them to conjoyne with them in the action, or else to make their Countrey and people a prey unto the Army. After long disputation the Councell of *Florence* delivered by *Donoghe Mac Cormock* was most applauded, and so they concluded to land the Spanish Armie in the River of Corke.

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## CHAPTER, VI.

*Florence Mac Cartie is by the Lord President committed to prison. A briefe Collection of Florence Mac Carties treasons and practises with the Rebels; not touching any thing formerly related.*

V P O N these and many other reasons (that shall hereafter be alleadged) the President thought that he could not possibly accomplish a service more acceptable to her Majestie, nor profitable for the State, and more availeable to divert the Spanish preparations, then to commit unto prison and safe custody the body of this *Florence*, which was accordingly effected about the beginning of Iune, one thousand sixe hundred and one, a man so pernicious and dangerous to the State, which had sundry wayes broken his severall



protections; upon his apprehension (which was in Corke) the President tooke present order that search should bee made in the Pallace (his chiefe house in Desmond) and other places of his aboad, for all such Letters and writings, as could therein bee found, whereby was discovered such a Sea of rebellious and traiterous practises, as her Majestie and her honourable Councell (being acquainted therewith) thought good that hee should be sent into England with the Arch-traytor titular Earle of Desmond, *James fits Thomas*. The conduction of these two firebrands of Mounster upon the fourteenth of August, 1601. was committed to the charge of Sir *Anthony Cooke*, who brought them to the Tower of London, where they yet remaine. But for as much as this *Florence*, hath sithence his commitment, insisted upon his Iustification, complayning of hard measure offered him, by her Majestie and her Officers: I am therefore constrained (though much against my will) for satisfaction of all indifferent men, Welwillers, and confutation of all malitious Cavillers, to lay open briefly (as I may) his whole cariage and conversation, since his late landing within this kingdome, forbearing to insist upon such poynts, as haue already bin touched in this relation. Thou maiest bee pleased therefore to understand gentle Reader, that the rebels of Mounster being growne to such an exceeding strength as you haue heard; and amongst these *Donnell Mac Cartie*, *Florence* his base brother in Law (one of the chiefe) her Majestie thought good to diminish their forces



with sparing as much blood, and expending as little treasure as conveniently might bee, and therefore knowing that *Florence Mac Cartie* was better beloved in the Countrey then *Donnell*, having made many solemne vowes, and taken many voluntary oathes for his continued loyaltie, was dispatched into Ireland in the moneth of May, 1599. and to the end hee might bee the more encouraged, and better enabled to doe her Highnesse service, it pleased her Majestie to direct her favourable Letters to *Robert Earle of Essex* (then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland) authorising him to giue order for Letters Patents to bee made, containing an effectual graunt to the said *Florence Mac Cartie*, and *Ellen* his wife, and to the Heires males of their bodies lawfully begotten, of all the Countrey of Desmond, and such other Lands, whereof hee had any estate of inheritance: but withall authorising the said Lord Lieutenant and Councell, to stay those Letters Pattents in the Hamper, or deliver them (according as they should see cause) in the prooffe they should make of the behaviour of the said *Florence*: Now that yee may see in what dutifull manner hee requited this trust, in what gratefull manner this kindnesse, and in what religious manner these oathes; I will recite a part of the examination of *Iohn Anias* taken before Sir *Nicholas Welsh*, and Iustice *Comerford*, which may explaine the same, the thirteenth of October, 1600.

He saith, that in May last, *Florence Mac Cartie*



sent one *Maur. More* to him, wishing him to repaire to his Lodgings at Corke, and that *Florence* was desirous to be acquainted with him; whereupon hee came to *Florence*, and in *Florence* his Chamber, hee the said *Florence*, (and none other but they two being present) said that he understood that this Examinee was an Engineer, and one that had skill in devising and erecting of Fortifications, and that he would willingly imploy him in the like. *Anias* demanding of *Florence*, what or where hee would haue his Workes raysed? He answered, at Dunkerran, wherein hee might upon any occasion of extremitie defend himselfe, and *Iames fits Thomas* against the English, and also wherein hee might giue succour to such Spanyards as should come to their ayde, &c.

Whereby the indifferent Reader may perceiue with what prepared hatred, and prepensed malice this Gallant was affected, even in this first scene of his devilish Tragedie; that there might bee no indecorum, his subsequent proceedings were in all poynts correspondent to these timely beginnings: For having now left Corke, and gotten footing in his (supposed) Countrey of Desmond, hee wrote severall Letters to the Gentlemen neere adjoyning, namely the *O Sulevan*, *Mac Finnin*, the two *Odonoghs*, and others, to assemble at a time and place appoynted, to create him *Mac Cartie More*; and whosoever he was that refused to come, he persecuted as his mortall enemy; and hereof *Owen Osulevan*, (eldest sonne to Sir *Owen Osulevan* deceased) had wofull experience: for upon



his absence from his meeting, hee caused the Bonoghs (which hee had now entertained) to pray and rob the said *Owen*, and some of his Tenants, taking one *John Oge* prisoner; and when the sayd *Owen* made suite unto him for release of the prisoner, hee answered, that hee would keepe him as his Pledge, to be true to him as *Mac Cartie More*, to follow his war, and keepe his peace. But when hee found that this course would not establish and secure unto him that Dignitie and high Title (after which hee so greedily gaped) then hee solicited *Tyrone* by frequent Letters, and importunate Messengers to come for Mounster, pretending many furtherances that thereby should arise to the Catholique cause, but desiring the same chiefly to his owne end, that hee might bee by him and the Romish Clergie saluted *Mac Cartie More*: and therefore *Tirone* comming into the Province about the first day of March, *Florence* posted with all speed to his Campe, and the fourth of the same hee combined with him, and was sworne upon a Masse Booke, to bee true to *Tirone*, and prosecute all hostilitie and cruell warre against the English; *Ex examinatione Owen Osulevan*. And to the intent it may appeare that this was no fained or counterfeit Narration of *Owen Osulevan*, you shall in part perceiue by his owne Letters written to *Donogh Moyle Mac Cartie*, upon this occasion: This *Donogh* (whether growne weary of the warrs, or for some other cause (I know not) determined to continue himselfe and his followers in subjection; and for the same cause had submitted himselfe to Sir *Warham St ledger*, and Sir *Henry Power*, Commissioners



appointed for the government of that Province, untill the coming of Sir *George Carew* to be President; *Florence Mac Cartie*, either to advance the Catholike cause, or else desirous that all his neighbours should run with him to the like excesse of ryot, joyning with *Owen Mac Eggan*, a Popish Priest, and most infamous rebell, and *Odonevan*, sent Letters to the said *Donogh Mac Cartie*, as followeth.

*The Letter.*

COusen *Donogh*, wee haue us commended to your selfe, and to your brother *Florence*: I haue (I assure you) taken the paines to come hither to *Tyrone*, not so much for any danger of my owne, as to saue the Couutrey of Carberry from danger and destruction, which if it bee once destroyed, your living (in my opinion) will growe very scarce. These two Gentlemen, your Brother *Odonevan*, and *Owen Mac Eggan*, are verie carefull with mee of your good. Therefore if ever you will bee ruled by us, or tender the wealth of your selfe and your Countrey, wee are heereby earnestly to request you, to come and meete us to morrowe at Cloudghe; and so requesting you not to fayle heereof in any wise, to Gods keeping I commit you. *Oneales Campe* at Iniscare, *Martij* 2. 1599. subscribed

Your very loving Friends,

*Florence Mac Cartie*

*Owen Mac Eggan.*

*Donnell Odonevan*



*Tyrone* finding that *Florence* was not onely forward in his owne person but also a fartherer of others, making new Proselites the children of perdition, aswell as himselfe, by the consent of all the Popish Bishops, Fryers, and Iesuits, and all the Irish Nobilitie there assembled, created him *Mac Cartie More*, vsing in this creation all the Rites and Ceremonies accustomed amongst the ancient Irish.

*Tyrone* having left the Province in the latter end of March, this new *Mac Cartie More* did so well remember his vowes made to *Tyrone* (although hee quite forgot those that hee formerly made to her Majestie) as in the very next Moneth, namely in Aprill, 1600. he vsed all his policie, power and industrie, to defeate the Queenes forces, under the command of Captaine *Flower*, but because I have formerly touched his proceedings therein, I will not trouble the Reader againe with vaine tautologies, and needlese repititions.

In the Moneth of May, immediately following, by the importunate mediation of the Earle of Thomond, and *Iohn fits Edmonds*, hee came to the President at Corke, but he had no sooner left the Towne but hee sent present word to the Arch-rebell *Iames fits Thomas*, aswell of his particular proceedings with the President, as of all such intelligene (as hee could possible understand) to giue impediment to the service, all which may appeare by a Letter remised from the said *Iames* unto him, the true Copie whereof here ensueth.



*James fits Thomas his Letter unto him*

**MY** good Lord and Cosen, your Letters of the eighteenth of May, I received the five and twentieth of the same, wherein you relate the manner of your proceedings with the President at Corke, and also of his determination towards the West of my Countrey: I thanke God I prevented that which hee expected here, for all the good pledges of the Countrey are committed to Castlemange, for their constant behaviour in this our action; the President with his force is come to Limerick, and intended presently to draw towards Askeiton, where I purpose with my Armie to resist him, I pray you the better to further the service, and the more to coole the bloody desire of our Enemy; let mee intreate you to put in effect, the meaning of my last Letters, by drawing your forces to joyne with mee here, which being done, I doubt not under God to performe service, that shall redound to the generall quiet of our Countrey, and so referring the due consideration hereof (to your Lordships carefull vsage) I commit you to the most Mighty: From the Campe at Adare this first of Iune, 1600.

Your very loving Cosen,

*James Desmond*



In the foresaid Moneth, the said *Florence* sent *Teg Oholloghan* and *Donoghe Offaly* to *Owen Osulevan*, vsing many strong Motiues and forcible perswasions to him, that hee should joyne with them (in action) against her Majestie, assuring him that all the *Osulevans* would presently shew themselues publikely for the Catholike cause, if they might perceiue that hee would partake with them, and afterwards *Iames fits Thomas* being taken Prisoner by *Dermond O Conner* towards the latter end of this said Moneth, *Florence* came in person to his rescue unto Castle Lyshin.

Also *Owen Osulevan* being with *Florence Mac Cartie* at the Pallace, heard him say, that hee had almost as willingly die, as come under the English government, and perswaded all those he spake with, to be obstinate in action, telling him how long Ireland had beene tyrannically governed by English men: All which *Osulevan* aforesaid did relate unto the President, and thereto tooke his corporall oath the one and twentieth of March, 1600.

In Iuly, hee taking upon him regall authority within Desmond, as *Mac Carty More* sent first to *ne Donnell Ferrers* to bee Sherife of that Countrey, perswading him that it would be very beneficiall unto him, which the said *Donnell* refused, answering that hee would not take that authority upon him, except hee could shew him a warrant from the President, authorising him to make such election, as hee knew the like heretofore graunted to the Earle of Clancare



in the times of trouble; whereupon he appointed another, named *Muriertagh Mac Teg* to the same office. *Ex examinatione Donnell Ferrers.*

In August Sir *Charles Wilmot* first planted his Garrisons in Kerry, and how glad this dissembling hypocrit was of his neighbourhood, besides his owne manifold Letters sent to Sir *Charles* (full of God damme him) if he were not heartily glad of his good successe here; you shall perceiue partly by the examination of the said *Ferrers*, *in hæc verba*: When the President in August, 1600. settled Garrisons in Kerry, *Florence* caused the Castle of Killorglan appertayning to Master *Ienkin Conway*, Vndertaker, to bee burned, fearing lest Sir *Charles Wilmot* should plant himselfe there, and when as the Governour afterward placed this Examinat therein, hee sent some of his kerne and tooke all his prey, threatning to pull them all out by the heeles, having no other quarrell against him, but onely because hee repaired the same Castle: Hee also releevd the Knight of the Valley at his house of the Pallace: And after (the said *Florence* was protected by the President) hee releevd likewise *Thomas fits Maurice* the Barron of Lixnaw, and ceased his Bonoghes in Desmond; but more plainly by examination of *Iames Welsh* taken the tenth of May, 1601. as followeth.

When *Iames fits Thomas* was in Kerry in September last, *Florence Mac Cartie* perswaded him to remaine there, promising him all the aide that hee could giue him, and being in his departure towards



Arlogh, hee sent *Thomas Oge* after him, praying him to returne, and hee would bring him to the killing of Sir *Charles Wilmot*, and the Garison of *Trale* that was with him, &c.

And when hee saw that *Iames fits Thomas* would not follow his Councell, but would needs goe to take *Arlogh Mountaines* for his refuge; hee wrote a Letter in Irish (which the said *Iames Welsh* read) directed unto *Cahir Mac Shane Glasse Omulrian* in Ormond, desiring him to levie for him in those parts sixe hundred Foote, which if hee could not doe, then to procure *Redmond Burke* to get so many for him; and if hee failed, then to deale with Captaine *Tirrell*, and that hee would pay them upon *Desmond*. About this time also hee sent a traitorous message to the White Knight (by his daughter) *Mac Donogh's* wife, together with a cunning Letter, written in Irish and translated as followeth.

*A Letter from Florence to the White Knight.*

**D**Amnation, I cannot but commend mee heartily unto you, as bad as thou art, and doe also most heartily commend mee to your wife, and to your two Sonnes, I would bee very glad to speake with you for your good; and because I cannot speake with you my selfe, yet I would haue you in any



wise credit your daughter Mistris *Mac Donoghe* concerning me, and to beleue from me, whom shee sends, or what shee sends you word of, by a trusty Messenger; I would haue you to determine about *Pierce Oge*, and that I may speake with you, I meane about *Gortnetoberd*, of *Tullylease*, send word to *Pierce*, and *Dermond* of the day with him, and send mee word, and I will come without all faile: In the meane time I leaue you to God, Pallace this seven and twentieth of August, 1600.

Your assured loving Friend.

*Florence Mac Cartie.*

This Letter was delivered, and expounded to the President by the White Knight: *Pierce Oge* before mentioned, was *Pierce Lacy*, the message which hee sent by *Mac Donoghs* wife, was to reprove him for his submission to the Queene, and to incite him to enter againe into rebellion, and if hee would not bee advised by him, and himselfe not able to mainetaine the action, that hee purposed to agree with *Donell Mac Cartie* his brother in Law, and to leaue the County of Desmond, and the Followers in his hands, and to imbarke himselfe into Spaine, to procure and hasten the long expected aide. In October, after



many and infinite delatory excuses, and protracted delayes, he submitted himselfe to the President, putting in such pledges as before you haue heard, and received a Protection for ten dayes, before the expiration whereof, hee earnestly laboured *Cormock Mac Dermond* about the mariage betwixt the Arch-rebell *Iames fits Thomas* and his sister, promising to the said *Cormock*, all the Lands that hee had in Carbery, and undertaking that the said Earle should giue farther unto him, such portions of Lands as should bee to his owne content, so that he would consent to this mariage, and joyne in this wicked combination.

The next Moneth, diuers meanes were made to *Thomas Oge*, Constable of Castlemange, by the Governor of Kerry, and the young Earle of Desmond (lately come out of England) about the delivery of that Castle to her Majesties use; *Florence* receiving notice hereof, made many journies to the said *Thomas Oge*, urging him with forcible perswasions, not to relinquish the said Castle to the English, promising that hee would undertake upon his owne charge and perill, to see him furnished with victuals (and all other necessaries) from time to time, whereof hee should stand in need; and when hee perceived an inclination in the said *Thomas Oge* (notwithstanding his perswasions) to yeeld the Castle, hee assayed by a craftie wile, to



haue conveyed away the two Sonnes of *Pierce Lacy*, which were held as pledges for *Iames fits Thomas* within that Castle; but the plot being frustrate (by meere accident) the children and Castle were within short time after delivered to the State.

When Sir *Charles Wilmot* came into Kerry with her Majesties forces, *Florence Mac Cartie* (as *Thomas Oge*, upon his examination confessed) intreated *Iames fits Thomas* to make the warre there, whereunto hee assented: But *Iames* could not perswade the Bonoghs unto it; Also after that *Dermond O Conner* had enterprised the taking of *Iames fits Thomas*, hee did then promise him to enter into open action of Rebellion, and to that end he solicited *Dermond Mac Owen*, *Mac Awley*, *O'keefe*, *Mac Finnin*, *Owen Mac Teg Carty* and others. And when *Tyrone* was in Mounster, *Florence* desired him to make it knowen to the King of Spaine, that hee would serue him faithfully; for the assurance whereof, the said *Florence* wrote a Letter to the King, and gaue it to *Tyrone* to bee sent into Spaine: And also tooke his corporall oath to performe his promises; whereupon *Tyrone* stiled and confirmed him *Mac Carty More*; hee also told the said *Thomas Oge*, that if the Spaniards did not land by May next, hee would goe into the North, and from thence into Spaine. And after that *Iames fits Thomas* was broken, hee told this examinat, that



if *Iames* could get forces out of *Vlster*; the said *Florence* would joyne with him. Farther, *Florence* intised *Connocke Mac Dermond* to enter into rebellion, and marry his Sister to *Iames fits Thomas*, who should giue unto him *Kerry*, whereby that his eldest Sonne should marry *Cormocks* Daughter, and *Cormocks* eldest Sonne to marry his daughter, who in mariage with her would giue *Carrigenesse* with twelue Plow-lands; which mariage, hee proposed for their firmer vnion in their rebellious enterprise: And that hee had loaden a Barque with Irish commodities to bee sent beyond the Seas, which should returne him munition, &c. Many other treasonable actions, and traitorly speeches, acted and spoken by the said *Florence*; the same *Thomas Oge* related unto the Lord President, which for brevitie sake I haue omitted, which was taken at *Moyallo* by the President in Ianuary, 1600.

The President not holding himselfe sufficiently assured of *Florence* with his two Pledges, his base brother and kinsman, still importuned the bringing of his eldest Sonne, according to his promise upon his first protection; hee having no pretext for his longer stay, sent to *Owen Mac Teg Mergagh* in *Desmond* to carry his said Sonne to *Corke*, there to bee left as a pledge for him; within a few dayes after this message sent, *Florence* receiving advertisement from *Tyrone*, of certaine Spaniards landed in the North, and hearing continuall rumors of Northern forces, to infest the Province, dispatched a Messenger to the said *Owen Mac Teg mergagh* to



make stay of his Sonne for a longer time; *viz.* untill hee might perceiue what would bee the issue of those preparations; but before the Messenger could come, the said *Owen* was with the child upon his way, and come to *Corke*, before the said Messenger overtook him, but had not as yet delivered the child out of his owne custody; wherefore receiving this countermand, hee secretly conveyed the child out of the Citie, and returned with him againe into *Desmond*, where he was kept as before, untill *Florence* had seene that there was neither Irish nor Spaniards appeared to his aide, succour and comfort.

In the Moneth following, namely in January, hee sent divers Letters to *Tyrone* and other his fellow traytors in the North, and from them received several answers, whereof some partchanced to come to our hands, which wee will here insert; and first there doth offer it self, one Letter written by *Donogh Mac Cormock* to the King of Spaine, in the name of *Florence Mac Cartie*, the tenor whereof was as followeth.

*A Letter from Donoghe Mac Cormock in  
the name of Florence to the King  
of Spaine.*

**H**AVING received direction from the Earle of *Clan-Care*, I would not omit this opportunity; at the departure of the Archbishop of *Dublin*, and *Don Martin de La Cerda*, to make knownen to your Majestie, how the said Earle hath written to your Majestie by



*two or three wayes ; but understanding that these Letters came not to your Royall hands, hee hath now againe written by me to your Majestie, making offer as well of his person and lands, as of his vassals and Subjects to your Royall service ; humbly beseeching your Majestie to receiue favour, and aide him with your power and liberall hand, seeing there is no other that can and will assist us better against these Heretikes in this holy Enterprise : From Donegall the fift of Ianuary 1601.*

*Your Majesties loyall Vassall  
to kisse your Royall hands,*

Donoghe Cartie.

This Letter as it should seeme was originally written (and the Copie sent to *Florence*) by one *Thomas Shelton*, who wrote herewith other Letters unto him of his owne as followeth.

*A Letter from Shelton to Florence Mac Carty.*

**M***Y honourable Lord, by direction of the Lord Archbishop of Dublin, and at the request of Mac Donogh (your agent here) I did write a Letter addressed to the King of Spaine, subscribed by him ; In which was signified how by your direction, hee had made offer of your service to his Majestie ; the Copy of which Letter goeth here inclosed : what the newes*



*and hopes of Spaine are, the bearer will fully informe you. This only rests; that is I have ever desired to serue your Lordship, so finding now the opportunity of this Bearer, I would not omit so fit an occasion to kisse your honourable hands and signifie that respect I haue ever borne towards you; God preserue and assist you in all your designes, that wee may liue to see accomplished by you, these things (whereof your noble beginnings giue an assured hope.) Donegall Ianuary the sixth, sub.*

Your most affectionate Friend.

*Thomas Shelton.*

Hee received also at the same time other Letters in Spanish (thus Englished) from the said Archbishop, subscribed, To the most Excellent Earle *Florence Mac Cartie.*

A Letter from the Spanish Archbishop of Dublin  
to *Florence Mac Cartie.*

**R**ight Honourable Lord, God is my witnesse, that after my arivall in Ireland, having knowledge of your Lordships valour and learning, I had an extreame desire to see, communicate, and conferre with so principall a personage; but the danger of the way would not permit mee: I am now departing into Spaine, with grief that I haue not visited those parts;



*but I hope shortly to retorne into this Kingdome, and into those parts to your satisfaction; and be assured, that J will performe with his Maiestie, the office that a Brother ought to doe, that he should send from Spaine. Because by letter I cannot speake any more, I leaue the rest untill sight. The Lord haue your Lordship in his keeping according to my desire. From Donegall the sixteenth of January, 1601.*

Yo Mateo Arçobispo de Dublin.

After all this, namely in February next following, the said false-hearted *Florence*, wrote certaine Letters to *O Donnell*, the contents whereof may be gathered by the answer, that the said *O Donnell* remised in Irish therevnto, and therefore I haue thought good to remember the same (translated) in this place.

*O Donnells Answer.*

*O* Vr commendations to you Mac Cartie : *We haue received the Letter you sent the fourteenth of October, and we sweare by our word, that you are no lesse grieved, for that you see us not, then we our selues, and it was not more your minde to haue ayd, then ours to send vnto you, if wee could for the great trouble it would bee to our selues, to intend you, and by your hand, there was not many in Ireland more of the minde then mine owne person, to haue gone to visit you,*



*had not the strangers neighboured upon my Countrey, and (as you know) my Countrey lying on the Sea, and they having the secrecie thereof to doe their endeavours, to conquer what they may vpon the same, which they would not doe vpon a Countrey not lying vpon the Sea: You shall receiue what Newes of Spaniards came to these parts by Iohn fits Thomas, and Donogh Mac Cormock and whatsoever they brought with them, we impart with you, and doe provide for the same, men to send unto you, if they may be had. Our Commendations to Patrick Condon, and to the rest of our friends in those parts.*

Your very assured Friend,

*Hugh O Donnell.*

The Earle of *Thomond*, at the request of the Lord President, sent a Priest called *Teg Mac Gillipatrick*, as a Spie into Vlster, to learne what newes hee could get among the Rebels there, returned the one and twentieth of February, 1600, and came to the Lord President at Moyallo, reporting that at his being at Donegall, in the Christmas Holy dayes, *Tirone*, *Odonnell*, and most of the Northerne Captaines being there present, made a new combination to continue the Rebellion; at which assembly, the Spanish Archbishop of Dublin was present, then ready to depart for Spaine, with sixteene Irish Priests in his company:



for the better assurance of their confederacie, the Sacrament was solemnly received by them all. At the same time, *Teg Mac Gillipatrick* (the Priest aforesaid) did see a Letter of *Florence Mac Carties*, lately sent to *Tirone* by a Messenger of his owne, which hee heard read openly, the Contents whereof was, That hee protested hee was not fallen from them, but had made a peace with the Lo: President of Mounster, untill May next, and that then he was at libertie.

One *Dermond Mac Cartie*, a kinsman and dependant upon *Florence*, and by him (as is supposed) was sent into Spaine, where hee continued his Intelligencer many yeeres, and by the Spanyards called *Don Dermutio Cartie*, wrote a Letter unto his Master *Florence*, dated at the Groyne the ninth of March, 1600. A long letter in Spanish, the materiall poynts whereof are thus abstracted and Englished :

That hee was glad to heare that his Lordship upon the fifteenth of December last, was landed at Corke, after his eleven yeeres restraint in England, whereof three of them in the Tower of *London*; that his Imprisonment was not for marrying of the Earle of *Clan Cares* daughter without leaue, as was pretended, but upon suspition which the State had of his loyaltie, which he understood by Letters written from the Lord Deputie, and Treasurer of Ireland to the Queene, (which was intercepted and brought into Spaine)



wherein it was suggested, that hee having so many kinsmen, friends, and followers, and himselfe (who was knowne to beare affection to Spanyards) it were fit hee were restrayned; and that this onely was the cause of his eleven yeeres restraint. Wherefore hee advised him, not to put any confidence in the English: for if they once againe lay hold upon him, they would never enlarge him.

Hee advised him to certifie his Majestie, how much hee was his Servant, what Townes and places hee could put into his handes, what number of men of warre hee could serue him withall; and if he could surprize Corke, he should bee well supplied by the King of Spaine.

That hee might send his Letters (written to the King) unto *Don Diego Brochero*, (who is a great favourer of the Irish Nation, and in great credit with the King) by which meanes they would bee safely delivered, as also his Letters unto him, for the solicitation of his businesse. That within three dayes hee might send him answere from the Groyne, which hee could not doe unto *Oneale*, and *O Donnell*, who were so farre off in the North of the Kingdome, and advised him to write unto them, that they in like manner should direct their Letters to *Don Diego Brochero*; but if he would not write unto him, hee would advise with *Don Diego*, and repaire himselfe unto him into Ireland.



Lastly, hee hoped that the King of Spaine would the next Spring send an Armie into Ireland.

It would bee too tedious to set downe at large all the manifest proofes of *Florence* his juggling Treasons; wherefore I will for brevitie sake, relate but a few more Abstracts of Letters and Examinations which heere ensue.

The thirteenth of May 1600. *Florence* received Letters from *Tyrone*, wherein hee prayeth him, that hee would constantly persevere in the Catholike cause, as hee had promised, that aide should come unto him from the North by Lammas next: That he had written in his favour to the King of Spaine, commended his service, and prayed the King to giue him assistance.

*Tyrone* wrote unto both the *Osulevans*, requiring them to giue obedience unto *Florence*; for hee had complained of them. *Tyrone* threatening the said *Osulevans*, that if they did not obey him (as they ought) hee would with his forces come into Mounster to destroy them: Dated the thirtieth of October, 1599.

*Tyrone* to *Florence*, dated the seventeenth of Aprill, 1600. that according to the trust and confidence he had in him, and his Confederats in Mounster, they should fight valiantly against the English, whereunto they were bound in conscience and for their Countries good.



Another from *Tyrane* to *Florence Mac Cartie*, dated the second of May 1600. wherein hee signifieth unto him of the arrivall of the Popes Archbishop of Dublin: And of present aides from Spaine, he thanked God that the Earle of Ormond is taken, hee incited him to entertaine as many Bonoghs as hee can against their enemies, that hee hath acquainted the King of Spaine of his service, unto whom hee hath sent his Sonne *Henry Oneale*, and that hee would shortly send him aide.

*Garret Liston* of Skehanaghe in the County of Limerick Gentleman being examined upon oath said, that *Florence Mac Cartie* met with *Iames fits Thomas* at Belaghafenan two miles from Castle Mayne, where *Iames* challenged him for not coming unto him with his forces, to fight with the Lord President as he had promised, whom after hee had with smooth language pacified; hee protested solemnly, and tooke his oath in the presence of *Iames fits Thomas*, *Mac Awlife*, *Thomas Oge*, *Muriertaghe Mac Shihie*, *Iohn Vlicke* and this Examinat, that hee would continue with *Iames fits Thomas* in this action. And although *Iames* should giue over the rebellion (which hee termed a just warre) yet hee himselfe would keepe life in it, so long as hee could get any to follow him, &c. This examination was taken by the Lord President the twentieth of August, 1600.



Another from *Oneale* to *Florence* dated the sixth of February 1600. wherein hee exhorteth him to serue valiantly against the Pagan Beast ; That before hee did write unto him againe, hee should see trouble enough in England itselſe ; and that yeare, May ensuing, the warres of Ireland would bee easie : And for that the cause of Mounster was left unto him, hee wished that no imbecility should bee found in him, and that the time of helpe was neere.

*Florence Mac Carties* wife told Sir *Charles Wilmot*, that her husbands heart was malicious to the State, and that hee would never come in, but upon necessitie, and that all hee did intend, or make shew of to the President was but to gaine time.

*Shilie* wife to *Osulevan More*, and Sister to *Florence Mac Cartie*, in September, 1600. speaking with the Lord President, exclaimed upon her Brother, as the cause of her Husbands imprisonment with the Rebels, and praying his advise and helpe for his enlargement ; hee told her there was no way to obtaine his liberty, but to giue his oath and promise, to enter into action of Rebellion and perswaded her to giue him that advise.

*Thomas Oge* being examined, said that *Florence Mac Cartie* told him, upon the delivery of his first pledge ; that if all the children living were in her Majesties hands for his loyaltie, or any other Follower, hee would loose no opportunity, if *Tyrone* were able



to assist his enterprize with any sufficient forces, or if Spaniards did land.

*James fits Thomas* upon the eighteenth of June, 1601. being examined by the Lord President, said that *Florence Mac Carty* did evermore acquaint him with all that passed betweene him and the President, and did continually sweare and protest, that hee would persevere in the action to the end; and that the principall hopes of the Spaniards and Vlster Rebels, were built upon the helpe and succour of himselfe, and *Florence Mac Carty*. And to what purposes hee employed himselfe in the times immediatly following, untill the time of his imprisonment, may bee gathered aswell by that which hath heretofore beene delivered, as by the examination of one *Gillernow Okelly*, a Connaght man, taken by Sir *Francis Barkley*, who being deposed; said that *Florence Mac Carty* sent his Letter and promise to *Tyrone*, to giue Bonnogh to *Redmond Burke*, and sixe hundred men upon Desmond and Carbery, and himselfe with one thousand more of his owne, would meete the said *Redmond Burke* in Arloghe; and at the same time hee saw foure and twentie Letters written by *Tyrone*, directed to *Florence*, and the Traytors in Mounster. You haue already perceived that this cunning hypocriticall Traytor, hath written Letters to the Arch-traytors, *James fits Thomas*, *Tyrone*, and *Odonnell*; and besides hath sent, or at the least



procured Letters to bee sent to the King of Spaine; moving and intreating him to invade her Majesties kingdome: And now for a perclose of all you shall behold, (*Ne quid desit ad summam impudentiam*) that hee might equall, if not exceed the most impudent and barbarous Traytor; his Letters sent to his holy Father the Pope, the contents whereof are as followeth.

A Letter from Tyrone, James fits Thomas,  
Florence Mac Carty, and Mac Donogh  
to the Pope.

**S**anctissime Pater, cum superioribus annis Dei summi nutu & voluntate excitati ad recuperandum Hoc Regnum ab Anglorum gravissimo jugo, qui & Religionem & regionem vi & tyrannide multis seculis occuparere, id nunc tandem post multa pericula exantlata, pro majore parte excussimus, sanctitati vestræ exponimus, quod prima nobis & præcipua fuit cura perpetuoq; erit, statum ecclesiæ, hâc fere extinctum in integrum restituere & collapsum redintegrare, ita apud nos judicantes nostrarum partium esse, vitam ipsam omnemque substantiam nostram in eo augendo impendere, id quod libentiori animo præstare conamur (ut non dicamus cogimur) quia nisi tempestive communi malo in utroque statu occurserimus nobiscum deterius longe actum fuisset quam Turcæ solent agere, cum sibi subditis Christianis adeo ut vel fugæ esset consulend' vel hic



*mors obeunda. Rebus itaque in angustias has redactis, ad quem majore spe jureque accedere cujusque opem implorare possumus, ac debemus, quàm ad te Pater spirituum in terris, ut filijs spiritualibus miserè adhuc afflictis jugoque longe graviore & crudeliore quàm Pharaonico attritis adsis. Quod nos speramus à pietate tua consecuturos exemplo omnium afflictorum, qui ad sedem tuam in talibus ærumnis accedentes opem atque desideratiorem exitum fuerunt consecuti Ad te igitur communem omnium afflictorum, præsertim fidei causa laborantium pium & benevolum Patrem, tanquam ad unicum nostrum refugium & tutissimum asylum confugimus, fuisque lachrimis humiliter petimus, ut nostros gemitus audiat, vota suscipiat, ac postulatus concedat, ut eorum ora obstruantur franganturque vires qui oderunt Sion, ac impediunt diruta Ierusalem denuo reædificari Mænia, ubi si nobis credere dignetur tua Sanctitas; Nunquam antecessores nostri ex tempore quo Regnum hoc in manus Anglorum devenerat, adjutores fuerant quàm nos sumus ad fidem à nostro Apostolo Sancto Patricio, traditam suscipiendum ad eamque (proh dolor) in his partibus fere extinctam hactenus & pene sepultam excusso jam pro parte Anglorum jugo exsuscitandam, promovendam augendam, & amplificandam; Quia nihil aliud in his votis habemus quàm videre Dei gloriam & fidei orthodoxæ propugnationem: annuere itaque dignetur vestra sanctitas nostris petitionibus, qui spretis honoribus & commodis*



quibuscunque diem ulteriorem vivere non desideramus, quàm videre Dei Ecclesiam toto orbe florentem: petimus autem imprimis, ut ad majora fidei incrementa illis sedibus vacantibus in hoc Regno ij qui vita moribus & literatura sunt conspicui, quique in negotio fidei promovendo plurimum nobiscum laborant præficiantur quosque nobiscum Reverendissimus Corcagen' ac Cloanen' Episcopus nominavit ac commendavit tanquam idonei Pastores ad Dei gregem verbo et exemplo instruendum, ne indignis qui sine ordine & fortasse summâ cum authoritate & ambitione sese animarum curæ ingererent, nisi occurreretur aditus pateat. Quod ut petamus movemur propter summam animarum jacturam, quam ob Pastorum paucitatem in vtrâque Monitioniâ provincia qui undecim Episcopatus sub Metropoli Cassilensi complectitur: excipimus enim Reverend' Corcagen' & Cloaneum qui senio & labore jam pene est confectus, nostri potiuntur, & hoc ea confidentius petimus, quia qui electi consecrati, & ad nos dimissi fuerunt à vestra sacrosancta sede ad vacuas hijs in partibus sedes occupandas à nobis pro viribus in ijsdem Dei gracia defendantur, ut gregibus sibi Commissis tuto invigilare queant. Insuper desideramus ut quemadmodum felicis recollectionis Pius Quintus, Pontifex Maximus contra Reginam Angliæ ejusque fautores Bullam excommunicationis ediderat; Necnon Gregorius 13. eandem continuaverat, ac vim habere in bello Giraldinarum indicavit: similem quoque sententiam ad



*hoc bellum promovendum, & ad felicem exitum deducendum, Sanctitas vestra emittere dignetur ac generatim sanctitati vestræ affectu quō possumus maximo regnum hoc vestrum à te solo post Deum dependens nosque humiles tuos subditos una cum procuratoribus præsentium latoribus quos pro nobis & nostro nomine deputamus, quique fuse & veraciter omnia quæ in hoc bello gessimus adjuti eorum opera & doctrina viva voce aperient plenius. Deprecantes ut Sancta vestra indubiam illis fidem dignetur adhibere eidem committimus & commendamus.—*  
*Dat' in Castris nostris Catholicis 30. Martij 1600.*

Sanctitatis vestræ Obedientissimi  
 filij & fidelissimi subditi,

*Oneale. James Desmond.*  
*Mac Cartie More.*  
*Dermond Mac Cartie, alias*  
*Mac Donogh.*

I will not trouble the understanding Reader with any long Commentary upon this plaine Text ; but onely will demand one question, whether that man which shall suggest, that her Majesties Subjects are in worse case then the Christians under the Turks, that her Majesties government is more tyrannicall then that of the Egyptian *Pharaoh*, that shall prefer a supplication into the Court of Rome, to haue his annoynted Prince excommunicated as an Heretike,



and deposed as an Vsurper, whether this man may bee adjudged to carie a loyall heart to that Prince, or deemed worthy to liue in that Common wealth. For my owne part I cannot suppose his leprosie like that of *Naaman* which may bee cleansed with washing seven times in Iordan; but like that of *Gehezi*, which will sticke to him and his posterity for ever, and that hee may ingeniously confesse with ever-cursed *Cain*, *Pecata mea majora sunt quam condonari queant*, my sinnes are greater then can be forgiven, but fearing lest this digression will be as over tedious to thee in reading, as it hath bin unpleasant to me in writing, I will now proceed in my purposed relation.

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## CHAP. VII.

Dermond Mac Owen, Teg Mac Dermond, and Moyle Mo Omaghon arrested. Dermond Mac Owens answer to the Lord President. The services which the Mounster Regiment performed in Connaght, under the conduct of Sir Francis Barkley.

**T**HE Lord President, notwithstanding all these intelligences of Spanish succours, had conceived a good hope, that so soone as the present State of the Province should bee known in Spaine; namely that the Chieftains were apprehended, and the rest generally appeased, it would bee a good means to divert the intended preparations; and yet farther, to secure the Provincials (so farre as the wit of



man could devise) he called a generall Sessions of Goale delivery in Corke, to bee holden about the eight and twentieth of Iuly, whither all the Freeholders in that Countrey were to make their repaire, where hee intended to lay hold of all such persons, as had beene most pernicious in the former warres, and likely to proue most dangerous in after times; these were principally foure, *Dermond Mac Owen Cartie*, alias *Mac Donoghe*, that was a Partaker in the petition to the Popes sanctitie; an other *Teg Mac Dermond Cartie*, brother to *Cormuc* Lord of Muskerry, the third *Moil Mo Omaghon*, chiefe of that Sept of the *Omaghons* in Kinalmekeghe, and the fourth and last was *Dermond Moil Mac Cartie*, brother to *Florence Mac Cartie*, so much spoken of. The three former making their apparance at the Sessions, were apprehended and committed Prisoners to the gentleman Porter; the fourth knowing himselfe guilty of many treacherous practises plotted by his brother *Florence*, durst not adventure himselfe within the Citie wals, but kept aloofe in Carbery till hee heard how the other sped, and then conveyed himselfe into the North amongst his fellow Rebels.

I may not here omit to relate unto you a passage which passed betweene *Dermond Mac Owen* aforesaid (the first of the foure aforementioned) and the Lord President; when he was first taken



in upon protection, did sweare and protest that he would remaine a good Subject; but (said the President) what if the Spaniards invade Ireland, what would you doe then? your Lordship puts mee (said hee) to a hard question; for if that should happen, let not then your Lordship trust me or the Lords *Barry* and *Roche*, or any other whatsoever, that you haue best conceit of, for if you doe, you will bee deceived, this was plaine dealing, and in divers it proved true, as hereafter you shall heare.

Vpon the determination of these Sessions aforesaid, namely in the beginning of August, the President dispatched his Letters to the Lord Deputie, and the Councill at Dublin, signifying the restraint of these men, and the reasons inducing him thereunto; for they all (being men of turbulent spirits, discontented minds, and ill affected to the English government) could not but proue very dangerous to the State in these doubtfull times, forraine invasions being daily expected; and although they had lately submitted themselues, yet was it sufficiently made knowen unto him, aswell by the confession of the condemned titular Earle, as from other of good credit, that it proceeded not from any loyall or dutifull disposition, but by the necessitie of the time being constrained, and by the Popish Priests being licensed, they were contented for a time to liue in subjection, being



no longer able to hold out in rebellion: But yet notwithstanding, hee determined to proceed, either in the retayning or releasing of them, as hee should be directed by their graver wisdomes: The Lord Deputie and Councell approved of his proceedings, referring the farther pursuite of these affaires, together with all other matters within his government to his owne discretion.

You haue formerly heard how Sir *Francis Barkley* was sent with Regiment into Connaght: and although I doe confine myselfe to speake chiefly of the services of Mounster, yet this Regiment being still upon the List of Mounster, I doe not thinke that I shall erre in setting downe of any accident of note which it performed. The ninth of August, Sir *Francis* with his Troopes lodged at Alphine in the County of Roscoman; the morning following was darke and misty, *Odonnell*, *Orwrke*, *Tirrell*, and the traytorly Confederats, being fifteene hundred Foote and three hundred Horse, quartering not farre from us, presented themselues close to our Campe; Sir *Francis Barkley* finding that his store of munition was but weake, resolved not to fight, but the Enemy growing bold upon our slacknesse, pressed so boldly upon us, as we were forced to draw out; for two houres there was a hot skirmish, wherein our men served exceeding well, forcing them to retire to their quarter: Of



our side there was lost a Gentleman of Captaine *Kingsmils* Company, and foure and twentie hurt: Of the Enemy not so few as eightie slaine and hurt.

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### CHAP. VIII.

*Sixe thousand men demanded by the Lord President to bee sent into Mounster to withstand the intended invasion of Spaine. The Lord Presidents opinion sent to the Lords of the Councell, of the likeliest place where the Spaniards would attempt to land their Forces in Ireland. The effect of the Lords of the Councels answer to the Lord President. A branch of the Lord Presidents Letter to Master Secretary Cecill. A Letter from Master Secretary Cecill to the Lord President. The intelligence had of the Spanish fleete comming for Ireland, and by him sent to the Lord President. A branch of Master Secretary Cecils Letter to the Lord President.*

**T**HE Lord President from time to time, certified aswell the Lords of her Majesties privie Councell in England, as the Lord Deputie and Councell at Dublin, of all such intelligences as hee received, and probabilities as hee conceived of the Spanish preparations: yet long it was before hee could induce them, to conceit any such thing: But now at the last, even as a vehement and violent Tempest, sometimes resoundeth in the aire for a good space before it falleth, and the neerer it approacheth, the more palpably and senseably is perceived; such was this tempestuous storme of the Spaniards intended invasion, which was now so vniuersally seconded



from all places, that it was generally expected both in England and Ireland; and for this cause the President did earnestly sollicit the Councell of England that sixe thousand men might bee levied for this service; whereof two thousand to bee sent presently for Waterford, and the rest to bee in a readinesse at an houres warning, to make speedy repaire to the Sea-coast; upon the first notice of this invasion.

The President also thought fit to deliver his opinion to the Lords of the Councell, what places within the Province were most likely for the Spanyards to attempt, & most necessary for her Majestie both in pollicie and honour to defend: for to prevent their descent in any place, (where themselues thought meete) was by him deemed impossible. But it was to bee presumed, that they would attempt such a place, as should bee honourable for them to gaine, and disadvantageous for her Majestie to loose; And therefore hee thought that their descent (most likely) would be at Limerick, Waterford, or Corke; as for the other Townes, they were neither worth their labour to winne, nor her Majesties charges to defend: Limericke was farre seated within the land, neither could they disimboge from thence without an Easterly winde, (which being rare) it was not likely that they would hazzard their Fleet upon such disadvantage: Waterford (though weake and commodious for them) it was so neere to England,



and especially lying so conveniently for her Majesties Forces within that Kingdome, the Deputie on the one side, and the President on the other, being so neere at hand, as it was not likely that they would land there. Corke therefore hee supposed to bee most convenient for them to assaile, and most necessary for her Majestie to defend for these reasons: First, because those that had beene the greatest dealers about this Invasion in Spaine, namely one *Dermond Mac Cartie*, a neere kinsman to *Florence*, called by the Spaniards, *Don Dermutio*, did advise (as aforesaid) *Florence* by Letters, (which were intercepted) to surprise Corke; Secondly, the said *Florence* did advise the Spanish Archbishop, by his Agent *Donogh Mac Cormock*, (as you haue heard) that Corke was the fittest place for this designe; Whereunto both *Tyrone* and all the Northerne Rebels did subscribe. Lastly, her Majesties Magazines of Victualls, Munition, and Treasure residing there in great quantities, could not without infinite trouble, and great danger be remooved: for besides, if they should be removed, either to Limrick or Waterford, neither of those were altogether secure, yet it would give an apparant testimony of feare, conceived of their comming, which would not onely amaze the best affected subjects, through the Province, but give occasion to the rest generally to revolt: upon these reasons the President thought fit to assemble all the forces within the Province, (which was then but 1300 Foote, and 200 Horse



in list) unto Corke or the places neere adjoyning, for the manning and making good of that Citie, which in it selfe, by the naturall situation thereof, was very weake, and of small defence.

The Lord by his Letters understanding his resolution, by their Letters dated the twentieth of Iuly (which hee received in August following) wrote unto him to this effect; that they would presently send unto him 2000 Foote for his supply: That they would not direct him what he should doe if the Spaniards landed, leaving it to his owne judgement, as occasion should be offered; saying farther, that where by his own Letters they perceived, (whereunto al mens judgement did agree with him) that Corke was a weake towne, & not tenible against a powerfull enemy, they thought fit to give him this generall rule, that in case he should see such forces arrive, applying themselves to a place of weake defence, (which in his judgement must in the end be carried, that nothing can be more pernicious to her Majesties cause, and therefore he should not doe well to venture his small Forces, where they, with Her Majesties provisions, were sure to be lost, howsoever he might peradventure thinke to dispute it for some few dayes: But the President to make good his resolution, answered their Lordships, and maintaining the same (as by his Letters of the sixth of August, may appeare) wherewith the Lords rested satisfied,



and left him to his owne judgement; wherein it seemes hee did not erre, for their intention of landing at Corke prooved true, (as hereafter shall appeare) whereof for farther testimony of the same, all the Letters which were sent from Spaine to *Don Ioan de Aquila*, after his landing in Ireland, were directed to Corke, which is an evident argument, that Corke was their designe, and that in Spaine it was conceived that *Don Iuan* was possessed of it, and also at the same time he wrote to M. Secretarie *Cecill* upon the same subject, his very words were as followeth. The resolution I held, I still hold, which is to defend and keepe Corke, the reasons (in my Letters to the Lords) I have at large discoursed, if Her Majestie shall relinquish any of her walled Cities, (as I am advised to doe) all will be lost, and a generall revolt will insue, wherfore it were better to put somewhat in hazard, then apparantly to lose all: The towne I know to be infinite weake, but many handes is a strong defence, and when the 2000 aides shall come, the enemy shall find it a tough piece of worke to gaine it: To remoove the Queenes Magazines, of victualls, Munition, and treasure, (as some doe advise) into the Countrey, I know no place capable of it, nor yet is there any meanes of carriage (especially in this Harvest time) to convey it away betweene this and Michaelmas, and to send it by sea, must be either to Waterford or Limricke, (which as farre as I know) may proue no lesse



dangerous then at Corke, no man certainly knowing where the Enemy will make his discent: But if the worst should happen, that the Towne must bee lost, the treasure (at least) shall be saved, and the rest, the Enemy shall never enjoy. The rasing of Shandon is to no purpose, for every Hill and Ditch (neere the Towne) commands the Citie no lesse then it, the defences of earth (which by my directions are in making) are onely made to winne time; and I haue so provided, that the charge of the workemen is borne by the Towne and Countrey, the Queenes expences is no more, but the use of her Shovels, Spades, Pickaxes and Whildebarrowes, &c.

Now wee may see how true a Prophet the President was, that the Spaniards would invade Ireland; but like unto *Cassandra*, untill this time could never bee beleaved, which proceeded out of the defects (which both the Lords in England, and the Lord Deputie of Ireland) had of good intelligence, whereof the President was better stored then either of them: of the undoubted likelihood of their comming; Sir *Robert Cecill* her Majesties Secretary wrote to the President as followeth.

*A Letter from Master Secretary Cecill to the  
Lord President.*

**SIR** *George Carew*, on Wednesday last, certaine Pinnaces of her Majesties met with a fleete



of Spaniards, to the number of fiftie saile, whereof seventeene are men of warre, the rest are transporting ships, as by this Note inclosed doth appeare, which my Intelligencer sent me at their going out. These ships cannot bee but for Ireland, from which Coast the storme kept them, unlesse it should bee said, that the King will land them in the Low-countries, which I will never beleeeue hee durst adventure, knowing how long wee haue expected them; and haue fourteene good ships out, which if you compare with the note inclosed of his, you shall find that wee might be ashamed to suffer his Fleete to land so quietly, and our Fleete in the taile of them; but (which is more certaine) to confirme my opinion ever for Ireland, this proportion is fit for Ireland, there it may worke mischief; and besides, that they which met them, saw them set their course from the mouth of the sleeue (where they were on wednesday) just for Ireland, and (as I verily thinke) they will fall for Limerick; for in Spaine it was advertised me, that their Rendezvous was for the Blaskys, which you know is on that Coast, about the Dingle or the Ventrey: Lastly, if they had meant to haue come hither, they would haue beene here before this time, being on wednesday at Silley, and the wind having beene South-west since faire. If therefore they bee not in Ireland, they are certainly put Roomer with Spaine againe; but that I dare not hope. Now Sir, what my Lord Deputy and you shall doe there, is not



our parts to tell you, onely wee desire you to propound us possible things, and then shall you haue them; two thousand wee haue sent already into Mounster, at least the want of wind hinders them, in the imbarquing Ports: if we know once where they are landed, then must you also tell us, where you will haue us second you: for if you looke for our supplyes to come to you, in the West side of Mounster, or South parts, then can we put them by sea more properly, and land nearer the parts of Accon, then to send them to Dublin, or to Corke, but all this to you must bee referred, to whom I wish as great happinesse as I wish to my owne heart: And so I end from the Court at Windsore this twelfth of August, 1601.

Your loving and assured Friend,

*Robert Cecill.*

*From Lisbona the fve and twentieth of Iuly, 1601.*

Here at Lisbon, there are stayed about two hundred Sailes of Ships; out of which number, fve and fourtie onely are selected for transportation of Souldiers.

The number of Souldiers are sixe thousand, whereof three thousand are here kept aboard the ships, lest they should runne away; the other three thousand are a comming from Andaluzia and those parts,



in a fleete of ships and gallies, under the conduct of the *Adelantados* sonne unto Lisbon.

The ships which carie the Souldiers are of the burthen of one hundred, one hundred and fiftie, and not aboue two hundred Tuns: The Spaniards doe refuse greater ships of the East Countries, which are stayed at Lisbon, and make choise of the smallest Vessels they haue for their purpose.

Of their fiue and fourtie Saile of ships, seventeene saile onely are fitted for men of warre, whereof eleaven of them are but small ships, the other sixe are Gallions; the Saint *Paul* the Saint *Peter*, the Saint *Andrew*, and three smaller Gallions of the Kings, whose names I know not

For the manning of their ships, fifteene hundred Sailors were sent hither out of Biskay.

The Marques of S.<sup>ta</sup> *Croce*, goeth Admirall in the Saint *Paul*, *Sibiero* alias *Seriago* Viceadmirall in the Saint *Peter*, they make account to bee ready by the last of Iuly, and ride with their yards a Crosse.

The two ships of Dunkerke (which haue remayned long at Lisbon) doe make ready to come away with the Fleete.

By this Letter, it appeares that they in England now were awake, and confident of the Spanish invasion; until which time (notwithstanding, the Presidents daily calling upon them for Men, Munition, and Victuals) they gaue a deafe eare; also hee re-



ceived an other of the same date, a fragment whereof I thinke it not unnecessary to relate, as well to shew the assurance which was held in England of the invasion, as the tender care her Majesties principall Secretary had of the President, and of the deare affection he bare him.

My deere *George*, now will I omit all the petty particulars of many things, because the great storme (which I presume is fallen upon Mounster) drownes all my petty cares, and wounds my soule for care of you, of whom I know not what to expect, but as a lost child; for though I know you are not so mad as to runne to the enemies mouthes, with a dozen persons in comparison; yet I am desperatly affraid that the Provincials should betray you; even those I meane that must or will seeme to be principally about you, &c.

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## CHAP. IX.

*The crosse Accidents which hapned to make the Lord Deputy to be offended with the Lord President. The Lord Deputies Letter to the Lord President. A satisfactory Letter from the Lord Deputy to the Lord President.*

AS is formerly related, Sir *Francis Barkley* being in the Province of Connaght with one thousand Foote and fiftie Horse of the List of Mounster; when the President sent him thither, among other instructions which hee gaue unto Sir *Francis*, was that hee



should not (upon any direction) goe out of that Province, until hee first heard from him; the reason which moved him to insert this clause into his instructions, was the confident assurance hee had of the Spanish invasion: But yet to prevent the worst, lest the Lord Deputie might peradventure command him to march into Vlster, or Linster; hee presently dispatched a Letter to the Lord Deputie, signifying unto him, what direction hee had given unto *Barkley*, and the reasons that moved him unto it, beseeching his Lordship to allow thereof: But see the mischief, before the Presidents Letters came to the Lord Deputies hands, hee had sent Captaine *Henry Cosby* with a peremptory commandement to Sir *Francis Barkley*, to march to Ballisheman in Vlster: Sir *Francis* being perplexed what course to take, at last resolved to obey his instructions, hoping that the Lord President would bee able to make his peace with the Lord Deputie; but so slow and negligent was the Presidents Messenger (which afterwards was excused by sicknesse) as the Lord Deputie had received Sir *Francis Barklies* refusall, before hee had knowledge of the Presidents Letters: whereupon hee stormed at the President, and dispatched presently his Letters to the Lords of the Councell, complayning of the President, not sparing to tell them, that rather then hee would undergoe so great an indignity (by any man that served underneath him) hee would quit his government. And at the same time it fell out so crossely, that



another accident did no lesse moue the Deputie to bee enraged then the former ; for of the two thousand supplyes which were to come into Mounster, the President (to giue contentment to many worthy men, that without charge had followed him in the former services) had obtayned from the Lords in England, that sixe hundred of them should bee bestowed upon such as he should make choise of, to bee their Captaines ; this added to that aforementioned, did so much increase his Lordships indignation to the President, (whereunto many ill disposed, to increase the flame gaue fuell) as his Lordship wrote this ensuing Letter to the President.

*The Lord Deputies Letter to the Lord President.*

**MY** Lord, as I haue hitherto borne you as much affection, and as truely as ever I did professe it unto you ; and I protest rejoyced in all your good successes as mine owne ; so must you giue mee leaue, since I presume I haue so just cause, to challenge you of unkindnesse and wrong, in writing into England, that in preferring your Followers, Sir *Henry Dockwray* hath had more power from me then yourselfe ; and consequently, to sollicit the Queene to haue the nomination of some Captaines in this kingdome : for the first I could haue wished you would haue beene better advised, because upon mine honour, hee never without my speciall warrant, did



appoint but one, who I after displaced, and I doe not remember that ever since our comming over, I haue denied any thing, which you haue recommended unto me, with the marke of your owne desire to obtaine it: and in your Province I haue not given any place (as I thinke) but at your instance. For the other, I thinke it is the first example, that ever any under an other Generall, desired or obtained the like suite. And although I will not speake injuriously of your deserts, nor immodestly of mine owne; yet this disgrace cannot make me beleue, that I haue deserved worse then any that haue beene Generals before me: But since it is the Queenes pleasure, I must endure it, and you choose a fit time to obtaine that or any thing else against me: Yet I will concurre with you in the service, as long as it shall please her Majestie to employ us here: but afterward, I doubt not but to giue you satisfaction that I am not worthy of this wrong: The Councell and my selfe upon occasion of extraordinary consequence, sent for some of the Companies of Mounster out of Connaght, when wee heard you were to be supplied with two thousand out of England, but wee received from them a flat deniall to come, and the copie of your Letter to warrant them therein. If you haue any authority from the Queene to countermand mine, you may very well justify it, but it is more then you haue vowed to me to haue, when I (before my comming over) protested unto you, that if you had, I would rather serue the Queene in prison, then here. My Lord these are



great disgraces to me, and so conceived, and I thinke justly, by all that know it, which is and will be very shortly all Ireland. My allegiance, and owne honour are now engaged with all my burthens, to goe on in this worke, otherwayes no feare should make mee suffer thus much; and what I doe, it is onely loue doth moue me unto it: For I know you are deare to one, whom I am bound to respect with extraordinary affection. And so my Lord I wish you well, and will omit nothing (while I am in this kingdome) to giue you the best contentment I can, and continue as,

Your assured Friend

*Mountioye.*

In this meane time, before these stormes came to the Presidents knowledge (for yet hee had not receiued the Lord Deputies sharpe Letter, hoping that the time of the Spaniards comming, would admit Sir *Francis* his Regiment some longer absence, sent him word to march to Ballishenan, or elsewhere (as it pleased the Deputie) and withall by his Letters, he acquainted his Lordship of his directions, and beseeched his Lordship to haue a care of Mounster, which hee was no way able (his places of Garison guarded) with his small forces remayning, to confront *Tyrrill*, and the Vlster aides, then ready to enter into it, much lesse to defend the Cities of Corke, Limerick, and Waterford against the Spaniards, whose arrivall hee daily expected: After this second dispatch to the Lord Deputie, the President received his Lordships thunder-



ing Letters ; but when the Lord Deputie by his answer saw, how much hee was mistaken, and had well considered upon what good ground the Presidents instructions were given to Sir *Francis Barkley*, and also that he had retrenched the same before hee knew that his Lordship had sent for them : And that although hee had gotten the favour to bestow sixe of the Companies that came out of England, hee knew that they could stand no longer then hee pleased, and so left them to be disposed of at his will, he not onely blamed himselfe, but wrote a satisfactory, kindly\* unto him, which to shew the good nature of that Noble-man, I thinke I should doe him wrong if I did not relate it.

*A satisfactory Letter from the Lord Deputie  
to the Lord President,*

MY Lord, if my Letter did expresse some more then ordinary passion, I will now desire you, if you haue any opinion of my judgement or honesty, to beleeeue mee, that at that time I had so much reason to bee so moved, as I presume, when I next speake with you, I shall induce you to confesse, that my expostulation did neither proceed from undervaluing you, or overvaluing my selfe, private respect to my owne ends, vanity in desire of preheminences, nor lightnesse, or evill nature in quitting slightly so worthy a friend ; and if I can farther perswade you by the effect it tooke with me, I protest the miserable

\* The word *Letter* should have come in here, but we have adhered to the copy.



tragedie of those I held here my dearest friends, the unkindnesse I tooke by their shewing themselues my most mortall enemies, the danger that I knew they brought my fortune into, nor any thing which hath beene much, that hath hapned to me since my comming into this kingdome, did ever so much moue me, as this, and the circumstances that did accompany it; the which being unfit to be trusted either to paper, or at the least to this passage; I will reserue for my owne defence till I speake with you, or may send a more safe and assured Messenger unto you, and so leaue my case, *Sub iudice*, but in the meane time absolue you from any wrong or unkindnesse you haue done me, with this assurance, that the desire you shew to giue me satisfaction, hath, and shall increase that affection I haue borne you; and in the world you shall not find for ever hereafter a more just, and sure friend and this much for your owne sake, but for his unto whom I know you are so deare, I am so much in my heart a servant to the worthinesse that hee hath shewed in his kindnesse unto me; that if hee should desire me, to traile a Pike under a farre meaner friend unto him then you; I would doe it willingly, because my fortune doth otherwayes so little enable me, to shew my thankfulness unto him, and this I doe not write out of my base observation of his fortune; but upon my Christianity, I doe acknowledge him to haue deserved more of mee, then all the world besides, and I doe truely thinke him to be the most honourable man,



that ever (in this unworthy world) my fortune was to haue any thing to doe withall. And therefore noble Lord, of all these things I will write as I haue read in my dunses of Logicke, *Sustine pro nunc*: Onely I beseech you dispose of the Companies, and all things else to your liking, which shall bee (I assure you) to mine, but to the great trouble I haue in hand, I must confesse, was never more pusselled in my Councels, for many just respects; but especially by an intelligence I haue received this day: And if I would like *Diogenes*, take a Candle in my hand, to seeke a wise man in this kingdome, unto whose judgement I would trust to assist mine (in the case in question) I know not where I should find any except it be you; and therefore if it be possible, send me word, where I may speake with you presently, though I come as farre or farther then Kilkenny, for I would faine resolute with you of all, and joyntly with you make a present dispatch into England; I pray dispatch a speedy Messenger, though it be a Horseman, and I will leaue all things so, as I will be prepared to goe on a suddaine, and so I commit you to God, whom I beseech to send us a happy meeting: The fift of September 1601.

Your most assured Friend

*Mountioye*

What an opinion of wisdom and worthinesse the President had now gayned by his painefull and



politique proceedings, I cannot but remember, the same being acknowledged by so many and worthy persons of her Maiesties Privie Councell : for if that bee *vera laus* which proceeded *à viro laudato* ; or if that rule of *Aristotle* be true, *viz.* That thing is justly to bee preferred, *quod à pluribus & sapientissimis approbatur*, then may I without flattery conclude, that his deserts were Honourable, and his wisdom was in such great esteeme, as his Counsailes were so well allowed of the Lords of the Councell, as never doubt was made of them and all things concerning that Province was left to his discretion, as occasions with their circumstances hapned.

Lastly, the Lord Deputie, whose judgement was second to none for the prosecution of the warre in Ireland, being now mightily distracted betwixt the Northren prosecutions, and the Spanish preparations, did write to the President, that there was no man, that could so well assist him in this dolefull case, and upon whose judgement he would so much rely (in all that kingdome) as upon his, and therefore requested him earnestly, to repaire speedily to Kilkenny, (neere to his Province) for so farre would hee come to meete him.



## CHAP. X.

*Intelligence of the Spanish invasion. Two thousand Foote sent to the Lord President. The Spanish Fleete discovered at Sea by Captaine Loue, whereof the Lord President advertised the Lord Deputy. The Lord President makes a Iourney to the Lord Deputy. The Lord Deputy and the Lord President meete at Leighlyn Sir Charles Wilmot adviseth the Lord President of the discovery of the Spanish fleete, at the mouth of the Haven of Corke. The Spaniards land at Kinsale. A Proclamation made in Kinsale by Don Iuan de Aquila, to give contentment to the Inhabitants. A list of the Captaines in the Spanish Army. Don Iuan his Certificate into Spaine after his landing at Kinsale.*

**T**HE President addressed himselfe forthwith to attend his Lordship, but was suddainely stopped by a double occasion. First Sir *Francis Barkley* being at Galway with one thousand Foote, and fiftie Horse of the Mounster forces, sent him certaine word, that a Spanish ship was landed at Sleigo, which brought assured newes that sixe thousand men were assembled in Spaine ready to bee imbarqued, and with the first wind to come for Ireland, which caused him to recall the said Sir *Francis Barkley* againe into Mounster, and Sir *Charles Wilmot* from Kerry, and to take order for the two thousand supplyes, that were now landed out of England; and before he could fully determine these affaires, there arrived one Captaine *Thomas Loue* at Corke Haven, in the West of Ireland, who sent him word by Letter dated the thirteenth of September, that hee had beene upon the Coast of Spaine in a small man of warre, and had discryed fieve and fourtie saile of the Spanish fleete at Sea, to the north of Capefinister,



standing to the Northward, by which hee conjectured, that they shaped their course for Ireland; whereupon the President sent a speedy dispatch to the Lord Deputie, being then at Kilkenny, certifying his Lordship, by what suddaine occurrents hee was diverted from his intended journey, where receiving notice thereof (having for a short time reposed himselfe there) returned towards Dublin: These rumors being now noysed throughout all Ireland, every man was in daily expectation of the Spanish fleete, and no sooner could there a ship appeare upon the Coast, but presently it was supposed to be a Spaniard; but there none appeared before the seventeenth of the same Moneth, which the Lord President perceiving, and that the winds still were contrary, and the weather very stormy and tempestuous, remembring how earnestly the Deputie solicited his Company, for causes very important, appoynting Sir *Charles Wilmot* Governour of Corke; and having set all things in good order as the time would permit; notwithstanding the indisposition of his body being very much distempered, at that time with long and weary journies, made towards the Deputie, and through weaknesse not able to passe beyond Leighlin, there hee stayed, advertising the Lord Deputie (who was then at Rheban) of his being there, which was the nineteenth of September: His Lordship being very glad of his comming, when hee least expected his Company repayred unto him; after congratulations, his Lordship consulted with the President, about such



services as hee thought most necessary at that time, in which consultation they spent some houres; and that night they went to Kilkenny, both of them being lodged by the Earle of Ormond in this house. The morrow being the twentieth of that moneth of September, towards night, the Sovereigne of Kinsale sent a Messenger to Sir *Charles Wilmot*, then in Corke, with Letters importing that there was a fleete of five and fourtie ships discovered from the old head of Kinsale, and that they were past the river of Kinsale, bearing towards the harbour of Corke; the Inhabitants likewise at Corke Harbour, brought him word that the said fleete was discovered afore that Havens mouth, and ready as they thought to put into it: Sir *Charles* incontinently dispatched a Horseman with Letters to the President who came unto him the three and twentieth, and also sendeth for all the forces of the Province, and Gentlemen of the Countrey, to repaire unto him. The Spaniards being close at the Havens mouth, the wind suddainely scanted, whereupon they tacked about, and made for Kinsale. Within the Towne Captaine *William Saxeys* Company lay then in garison; but because the Towne was of small strength, unable to withstand so powerfull an Enemy, order was given to Sir *Charles Wilmot* that they should quit the same, and retraite to Corke. Vpon the three and twentieth of this instant, the Enemy landed their forces in the haven of Kinsale, and marched with five and twentie Colours towards the Towne; upon their approach the Townsmen not



being able to make resistance (if they had beene willing thereunto) set open their Gates, and permitted them, without impeachment or contradiction to enter the Towne: The Sovereigne with his white rod in his hand, going to billet, and cease them in severall houses, more ready then if they had beene the Queenes forces.

To encourage them to persevere, to banish feare, and to winne their loue by gentle and mild vsage, *Don Iuan de Aquila*, the Spanish Generall, promised this which insueth, published the same, and confirmed it with his hand and Seale, which is thus Englished.

*A Proclamation made in Kinsale by Don Iuan de Aquila, to giue contentment to the Inhabitants of Kinsale.*

**W**Ee *Don Iuan de Aquila*, Generall of the Armie to *Philip* King of Spaine; by these presents doe promise, that all the Inhabitants of the Towne of Kinsale, shall receiue no injury by any of our retinew, but rather shall bee vsed as our brethren and friends, and that it shall bee lawfull for any of the Inhabitants that list to transport, without any molestation in body or goods, and as much as shall remaine, likewise without any hurt.

*Don Iuan de Aquila.*



For testimony, that the forces which the said Spanish Generall, were no lesse, but rather more then is reported; I thought it not impertinent for the Readers better satisfaction, to set downe the names of all the Commanders, Officers, and Captaines that landed with him at Kinsale, and afterward.

The names of the Spanish  
Commanders and  
Captaines.

*Don Iuan de Aquila Maestro del Campo Generall.*

*Don francisco de Padilla maestro del Campo,*

*Antonio Centeno maestro del Campo.*

*Capitan Don Pedro Morijon.*

*Captaine Francisco de Pinuoll.*

*Captaine Pedro Munnez de Xaer.*

*Captaine Miguel Caxa de Cuellar.*

*Captaine Andres Leal.*

*Captaine Don Luis de Vela.*

*Captaine Don Gomez de Vargas.*

*Captaine Don Pedro Zuazo.*

*Captaine Saint Vincente.*

*Captaine Don Gasper de Guevarra.*

*Captaine Diego Gonzales Sigler.*

*Captaine Marcos de Porras.*

*Captaine Cascarro.*

*Captaine Don Philipppo de Camonde.*

*Captaine Pedro de Chauves.*

*Captaine Don Diego de Vierzina.*



Captaine *Luis de Carrera.*  
Captaine *Francisco de Muniosa.*  
Captaine *Pedro Enriques de Tejada.*  
Captaine *Don Christouall de Ayala.*  
Captaine *Iuan Ymonez de Carata.*  
Captaine *Alonso de Zaramelle.*  
Captaine *Don Pedro de O Campo.*  
Captaine *Luis Diaz de Navarra.*  
Captaine *Alonso de Motina.*  
Captaine *Diego Palomeque.*  
Captaine *Maldonado.*  
Captaine *Iosepho Escobar.*  
Captaine *Antonio de Tufo Italiano.*  
Captaine *Orlando Italiano.*  
Captaine *Christouall de Cardenosa.*  
Captaine *Y quartel Maestro Miguel Briena.*  
Captaine *Diego de La Villa.*  
Captaine *Hernando Borragan.*  
Captaine *De O Campo.*  
Captaine *Francisco Ruiz de Vellasco.*  
Captaine *Pedro de Saavedra.*  
Captaine *Graneros.*  
Captaine *Andreas de Arve.*  
Captaine *Albornoz.*  
Captaine *Martin Ruyz Sarjento Mayor.*  
Captaine *Luis de Aquila Sarjento Mayor.*  
*Pedro Lopes de Soto Veador Y Contador de la*  
*infanteria.*  
*Iuan Ocho a Devasterra Contador de La Ar-*  
*tilleria.*  
*Diego Ruyz de Salazar Pagador.*



After that *Don Iuan* was landed and settled in the Towne of Kinsale; by shipping which returned, hee sent into Spaine a relation of his present estate, which is as followeth, translated out of the Originall under his owne hand.

*A Discourse of the estate wherein Don Iuan de Aquila doth remaine, with the appointment of such things as hee advertiseth to be needfull for his succour, and good effect of his voyage; translated out of a Spanish discourse.*

ON the first of October hee arrived at the Haven of Kinsale, and the day following, *Don Iuan* landed all his Souldiers; whereof framing two squadrons, hee marched towards the said Towne, out of which there issued fiftie Foote and fourtie Horse, who leaving the place free, went towards the Towne of Corke; the persons of better sort going with them, with all their goods; whereupon there were presently sent in two Companies, and the day following entered all the rest of the Armie, and lodged there, to the end to shelter the Troopes and Munitions under covert, although with great straightnesse, the place contayning not aboue two hundred houses.

The seat and foundation of Kinsale is in a side of a River, invironed in hils, and without any kind of defence, in so much as *Don Iuan* is of the mind, if the enemy should come (to quarter himselfe neere his front) to try his fortune, because otherwise hee should not bee able to make good the place.



There were disembarked two Field-Pieces, and two Demie-Cannons, leaving the rest of the Artillerie unlanded, not having Munition sufficient for so much Artillery, for that the Powder and Match which remains is little, and the greater quantitie came wett, as well as not to be encombred with so much Artillery, without Horses to draw it, since that with the next succors may be sent munition enough.

There is in the middle of the Haven of Quinsale, a certaine (almost an) Iland, on the which it seemeth good to *Don Iuan* to haue a Fort made, to secure and defend the Haven; yet is there no convenient place to do it: for on the part that lookes towards the place, an Arme of the Sea divides it from the land, continued somewhat upwards into the land, without having Pinnaces, Boats, or other means to crosse it: and for that the Towne Quinsale is of so great a Seat, and open in so many parts, and so weake, that it is needful to haue halfe the Troupes in guard at least, whensoever they should bee forced to draw out to some good effect, which notwithstanding would not bee in good securitie, the place (almost an island) not having sufficient water, nor is there any place of those adjacent, that yeeldeth means to fortifie it, so that to is necessary to go elsewhere for it, having here nothing to make Cisterns nor Pinnases for a passage, or to bring bavins and



faggots, the river being somewhat farther upwards into the land,

He sent to tell *Don Diego Borchero*, that because the way remayned so ill, hee should assist him before hee went, in causing to be disimbarqued the Bisket, and afterwards, that all the boats should make three or foure voyages for bavins or gabions, whereof he had great need; the River, as is aforesaid, being somewhat farre aboue, hee answered that he could not attend to this, or disimbarque the Biskets which came in the hulke, which were there, but to returne presently, and so with great haste caused the munitions to bee landed, which they left upon the shore, without account or reason; the Aceounter, the Steward of the Artillery remayning, which would not undertake to account for it; and such was the haste, that on the durt and Ooes of the shore they were ill handled, and wet, as if the Enemy had beene already playing with their Artillery on their ships. So soon as *Don Iuan* had lodged himselfe in the place, hee dispatched to the Earles severall times, advising them of his arrivall; yet in nine dayes that passed until I was dispatched into Spaine, they received no answer: There is from Kinsale to the place where the Earles abide seventie five Leagues; the naturals of the Countrey report the forces of the Earles to bee much lesse then was given out to us, and that the Enemy doth hold them in with forts: The enemies haue drawen together all



their Cattell and Corne, and with their Cavellerie breake the Mils, and because wee haue no Horse they presume to come every day up to our Wals, not being able to avoid or hinder it; notwithstanding our sallies against them, insomuch that from without, wee receiue neither flesh nor any other thing, except some few Cowes from the poore people of the place, which they sell the rather unto us, because wee pay them what they demand, yet within few dayes there would bee no flesh had, by reason of the English, who haue engrossed and gathered the Crets together, and burned the houses of the naturals.

*Don Iuan* doth procure to draw from the Countrey people, by loue and rewards all that he can; yet withall this, findeth no assistance from them, neither dare they declare themselues, and the greater part haue no will, seeing the small forces which haue beene landed, but seeing that there are more, they will bee still comming, and some of them receiue pay, it is very requisit to pay them and arme them; because till now many of them are past to the Enemy: Since the writing of this by *Don Iuan de Aquila*, there came a spy from Corke, where the Enemy doth joyne together, who saith that the Viceroy had already together more than foure thousand Foote and foure or fise hundred Horse, and that the Queene of England had received advertisement of the coming of the Spaniards into Ireland, whereupon were great preparations made for the expulsing them; the



Souldiers which were disimbarqued, marched to the number of three thousand and foure hundred; besides those which came in a hulke, now arrived three Leagues from hence, but making a squadron of them, there was a lesse number found, so that it is thought fit to take the first muster with much rigour, taking note of the boyes, and such besides of the rest as are *Besognies*, who not knowing the use of their Peece, nor how to discharge them, are drawen out to exercise their Armes dayly, many fall sicke, and are already more than one hundred: It is fit that the succour which his Majesty meaneth to send, should be dispatched with speed, because the Enemy may not haue power to engage the places which *Don Iuan* hath designed to fortifie: It should bee a matter of great importance, and the whole for Horse, by reason of the difference of the Cavallerie, which commeth out of England and that of the Earles, for all that can bee levied in Ireland, or that they haue are small Horses, and the Souldiers are unarmed, which doe only fight with halfe Pikes, and Saddles without stirrops.

Of powder and matches as is aforesaid, there is small store, so that it is necessary to send some good quantitie together with Lead, because there passed but little.

Bisquet and some wine is necessary for the sustenance of our Troopes, because there came not such



a quantitie of Bisquet as his Majestie commanded, and was not more than for two Moneths or little more.

It is likewise convenient that there come a great summe of monie, for it imports much to pay well, for want whereof, there rise no disorders, that of friends wee gaine not enemies.

That others may come in the place of the Accounter, and overseer that brought us to the Groyne.

It is convenient to send two Doctors, because there is none in the regiment of Spaniards.

Likewise that an Auditor Generall be sent to serue here, because there is none.

It behooveth also to send Carpenters and Smiths, or Farriers being very necessary.

And that his Majesty bee served, that there might remaine here three or foure ships to giue advise of whatsoever shall succeed, there being none left here at this present.

The next day after *Don Iuan* was landed, Sir *Charles Wilmot* sent Captaine *Francis Slingsby* with his foote Company, and Sir *Anthony Cookes* Horse, with directions to take the best view hee could of their fleete and forces, who at his coming



thither, found them possessed both of the Towne of Kinsale, and of the Castle of Rincorran, neere adjoining unto it; and to bid him welcome, they drew forth a Company or two of Foote, and a skirmish for a little space was entertayned, wherein there were some hurt, but none slaine; Captaine *Slingsby* having performed his directions returned to Corke.

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## CHAP. XI.

*Second Letter from Sir Charles Wilmot of the arrivall of all the Spaniards in Kinsale. Debate in Councell what was meetest for the Lord Deputy to doe. The Lord Deputy assented to the Lord Presidents advise. The Lord Presidents providence. A dispatch into England of the Spaniards arrivall. The Lord Deputy goeth with the Lord President into Mounster. None of the Provincials of Mounster did adhere to the Spaniards at their first landing. The Report of a Master of a Scottish Barque concerning the Strength of the Spaniard. Captaine Flower sent to view Kinsale. Directions given for the burning of the Corne neere Kinsale. A Letter from the Archbishop of Dublin, and Don Iuan de Aquila unto Tyrone and O Donnell. The Lord Deputy and Lord President &c. went to view the Towne of Kinsale. The Lord Deputy with the Army marched towards Kinsale.*

**A**T the instant when Sir *Charles Wilmots* Letters of the Spaniards arrivall came to Kilkenny, which was upon the three and twentieth of September, as aforementioned; the Lord Deputie, the Earl of Ormond, the Lord President, Sir *Richard Wingfield* Marshall of the Army of Ireland, and Sir *Robert Gardiner* the chiefe Iustice, were in Councell, ad-



vising what course was to be taken if the Spaniards should land: but now Sir *Charles Wilmot's* Letters gaue them cause to advise what should be done, they being landed, & to confirme the same; while they were in Councell, second Letters came from Sir *Charles Wilmot*, and the Major of Corke, that the Spaniards had quitted the harbour of Corke, and were all at an Anchor in the haven of Kinsale: The question was then, what the Lord Deputy should doe: The Earle of Ormond, the Marshall, and the chiefe Iustice were of opinion, that hee should doe well to hasten to Dublin, and there to assemble his forces together; and whilst they were drawing to a head, to giue orders for supplyes, of victuals and munitions to bee sent to Corke; and that the President should presently bee dispatched into the Province, to defend the Citie of Corke, untill the Lord Deputie came to his reliefe, wherein all expedition was to vsed, for the reasons were, that if the Lord Deputie presented himselfe in the Province with small forces, it would encourage the Enemy, and put distrust and feare in the provincials, which were either well affected or neutrals.

The Presidents advise was opposite to theirs, beseeching the Lord Deputy to goe presently into Mounster although hee had no more then his Page with him; for said he, if the Provincials shall see that you turne your backe towards them, the will conceiue it proceeds of want of force, and then



undoubtedly a generall revolt will ensue, but when they shall see you personally amongst them, that doubt will be removed; and besides, the Armie (now dispersed) will make more haste after you, then they would doe if you attended their comming to Dublin.

The Lord Deputy inclined to the Presidents Councell, but said he, what should I doe there, not being able to mainetaine the Armie with victuals for the space of a weeke, nor to furnish it with munitions, of both which there is no remaine in the Magazines in Dublin: The President willed him to take no care for those wants, for hee would furnish him, and the whole Armie for two or three moneths, which indeed hee was able to doe, for hee had spared the expence of victuals, not consuming so much as a Bisquet, for more then sixe moneths, giving the Souldiers money, and having beene evermore confident of the Spaniards arrivall, had procured good supplyes of munitions, which were frugally and sparingly issued: The Lord Deputy like unto one that was overjoyed with such unexpected provisions, rose from his Chaire, embraced the President, and said, that if hee had not beene more then provident, that himselfe did not know what to haue done, and that his honour had beene indangered, and ascribed to him what hee well deserved.



In conclusion the foure and twentieth, the Marshall Sir *Henry Davers*, and Sir *Iohn Barkley* were dispatched into Linster and to Armaghe, to assemble the Army, and to bring it with all possible expedition into Mounster, and Letters were dispatched to Sir *Charles Wilmot* to bee well upon his guard, and dispatches sent into England by Captaine *Iohn Roberts* of the Spaniards arrivall: All things being thus ordered, doubt was made how the Lord Deputy could be conveyed safely to Corke, being attended by no other then his household servants in that dangerous time, which was satisfied by the President, who had then with him there one hundred Horse, and for the furnishing of the Lord Deputies house at Corke, with stuffe and vtensils hee undertooke the care. The same day the Lord Deputy and President, Sir *Robert Gardiner* departed from Kilkenny, and the same night they lodged at Kilkenan the Lord *Dunboynes* house, the next night at Clonmell, the sixe and twentieth at Glanogher the Lord *Roches* house, and the next day following they came to Corke.

Now are wee come to siege of Kinsale, a place ordayned, wherein the honour and safetie of Queene *Elizabeth*, the reputation of the English nation, the cause of Religion, and the Crowne of Ireland must bee by Armes disputed; for upon the successes of this siege, as these great and important consequences depended: And here the malice



of Rome and Spaine (if they had prevailed) would not haue ceased, for their purposes did extend it selfe; (Ireland having beene conquered) to make it their bridge to haue invaded England, the conquest and ruine whereof was the maine marke, whereat they aimed.

It was generally expected, that upon the first landing of the Spaniards, that the greatest part of Mounster would haue presently relapsed, and haue declared themselues Spanish; but the President had so well established the Province, by the apprehending of all the Principals which hee mistrusted, and by taking good pledges of the rest; that when the Lord Deputy came to Corke, hee presented unto him all the men of living, and quality in the Province, who stood firme untill the coming of supplies to Castlehaven, as hereafter you shall heare.

The eight and twentieth the Lord President brought the master of a Scottish barke to the Lord Deputy which came from Lisbon, who confidently reported, that the Spaniards (when they were embarked for Ireland) were sixe thousand strong: And the same day we heard that none of the Irish had repaired to Kinsale (to tender their service to the Spaniards) but onely some dependants of *Florence Mac Carties*, and that *Don Iohn* and his Captaines were much grieved that *Florence* was sent prisoner into England, of whose restraint they under-



stood nothing untill they were arrived : And also wee were advertised, that at Kinsale five and thirtie ships arrived with *Don Iohn*, and that the rest of his fleete were driven into Baltimore having in them seven hundred Souldiers, and that they brought with them sixteene hundred Saddles, hoping (as they were promised) to find horses in Ireland, and a great surplus of Armes to furnish the Irish; and the Companies with *Don Iohn*, for the most part were old Souldiers taken from the garisons of Italy and the *Terceras*, and that there was but a few Besognies amongst them.

The same day Captaine *George Flower* (Sergeant Major of the Province of Mounster) was sent with certaine Companies to view the Towne of Kinsale, to see what countenance the Enemy did hold, hee no sooner approached the Towne, but the Spaniards sallied, our men beate them into the Towne, and were so eager in pursuit, as they came to the Port, and would haue set fire unto it, if *Flower* had not drawen them off; in this skirmish wee had some men hurt, and the Enemy both slaine and hurt : Also the same day, certaine Companies were directed to march into Kinaley, to burne and spoyle all the corne in that Countrey, and within five miles of Kinsale, and to command all the Inhabitants in those parts, to bring their Cattle on this side the river of Awneboy and Corke, whereby the Enemy should want reliefe neere unto them.



To hasten the comming of *Tyrone* and *O Donnell* the Spanish Arch-bishop of *Dublin*, and *Don Iuan de Aquila* wrote unto them as followeth.

A Letter from the Archbishop of *Dublin*, and  
*Don Iuan de Aquila*, unto *Tyrone*  
 and *Odonnell*.

*Pervenimus in Kinsale, cum classe & exercitu, Regis nostri Philippi; expectamus vestras excellentias qualibet hora, veniant ergo quàm velociter potuerint, portantes equos, quibus maximè indigemus, & jam alia via scripsimus, non dico plura. valete.*

*Frater Matheus Archiepiscopus Dublinens.*

*A Qui estamos guardando a vuestras Senorias ilustrissimas Como largamente otra via hemos escritos, A Dios. 12. Octob. 1601.*

*Don Iuan de Aquila.*

*Excellentissimis Dominis*

*Don Oneale and Odonnell.*

This day the Lord Deputie, the Lord President and Councell, with divers others went to *Kinsale* to take a view thereof, and found at their comming thither that the shipping had newly left the harbour,



and were under saile for Spaine, so as they saw nothing was further to bee done till the comming of the forces.

The third of October Sir *William Fortescu* with his Company of Foot, and Sir *Beniamin Berry* with the Lord deputies came to Corke.

The Marshall (who was sent from Kilkenny to draw Companies out of the Pale) came this day with Sir *George Bouchier* to Corke, where at that time remained the Lord Deputie, the Lord President, Sir *Robert Gardiner*, and Sir *Nicholas Walsh*, Councellors, expecting them and others; Sir *Iohn Barkley* came that day also.

The Companies came to Corke, that Sir *Iohn Barkley* had brought with him.

Sir *Henrie Davers*, who was sent for the Forces about Armaghe, came to Corke with Sir *Henry Folliet*, captaine Blany and diuers other Captaines.

Master *Marshall* and Sir *Iohn Barkley* with some Horse and Foote went to Kinsale, to view a fit place to encampe in.

The Companies that Sir *Henry Davers* went for, came this day to Corke. Some Horse and Foot sent forth to keepe the Spanyards from Victuals.

Two Frenchmen were voluntarily taken, that ranne away from the Spanyards, who confessed their num-



bers to be three thousand five hundred, besides those that were not yet come in.

It was resolved to take the field, but no great Ordinance came yet to enable us thereunto.

The weather fell out so rainy, as it was unfit to rise.

The Lord Deputie left Corke, and encamped with the Armie at a place called Owneboy, five miles from Kinsale; the Artillery, Munition, and Victualls which were to come from Dublin was not yet arrived; yet was it thought fit, (being thereof supplied by the Presidents store) to take the field, rather then the Countrie should discover those wants, and so fall away.

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## CHAP. XII.

*The Lord President requireth the Townes of Mounster to send Companies of Foot to the Campe. Don Iuan de Aquila his Declaration in answer of a Proclamation published by the Lord Deputy and Councell. The Army encamped at Knockrobyn neere Kynsale. The enemy attempted to disturbe our Quarter, but were repulsed. A skirmish betweene vs and the Spanyard. Captaine Button arrived with Munition and Victuals. A Skirmish in the night, wherein twenty of the Spanyards were slayne. The Army encamped close to Kynsale. A prey of Cowes taken from the Spanyards.*

**THE** Lord President (in his providence) before the Army was ready to march to Kinsale, acquainted the Lo: Deputie, (which hee well approoved) that hee had sent to the Cities and great Townes of Mounster,



that every of them, (according to their proportions) should send Companies of Foot from their severall Corporations, to strengthen her Majesties Army, which they accordingly (but with some grudging) did performe. This he did, not for any opinion he had to receive fruite by their services, but their being in the Campe, was a good Pledge upon the Townes (in these doubtfull times) for their better loyalties, the Lord Deputie not being able to spare any Companies to secure them.

The Lord Deputie and Councell, before the Armie marched from Corke, doubting (as they had good cause) that the Priests would leaue no practises unattempted, that might animate or confirme the Irish in their Rebellion, thought it necessary to giue notice to the world, how uniuert the pretended causes were, that the Irish had taken Armes against their true annoynted Soveraigne; and also how unjustly the same was maintained by the Pope and the King of Spaine, which by Proclamation was divulged in the Citie of Corke; In answer whereof *Don Iuan de Aquila* (as soon as it came to his eares) did likewise Proclaime this Declaration, or Apologie in Kinsale, and dispersed Copies thereof into sundry places, the tenour whereof ensueth.



Don Iuan de Aquila *his Declaration in answeere  
of a Proclamation published by the Lord  
Deputie and Councill, translated  
out of the Latine.*

**D**On Iuan de Aquila, Generall of the Warre, and the Catholique King of Spaines chiefe Commander in Gods warre, which is made in Ireland for defence of the Faith. To all the Irish Catholiques living in Kinsale, the Citie of Corke, and in all other Villages, Cities and Castles, wisheth health in him who is the true happinesse. There is come unto our eares a Proclamation, or certaine Libell made in the Citie of Corke, in the Name of the Deputie; which because it conteineth many untruths, and such things as offend the eares of honest men, lest they may leade and seduce the mindes of simple men into errours, and turne them from the truth, I am compelled to shew their falsehood, to lay open the trueth, and in fewe words to signifie the pretence and intention of our most Excellent King *Philip*, in this Warre, which is with the Apostolique Authoritie, to be administred by us: and (to speake the truth) I could very easily retort vpon them those reproaches which they object to us, and make them lose the pleasure which they haue taken in ill speaking, by hearing of the like; Notwithstanding, we will not (like unto weake and unarmed women) goe to reproachings: but setting these things aside, answer to those that are objected with sound truth and Christian modestie.



First of all, yee faine that wee would leade away the pretended Subjects of the Queene of England from their obedience, to bring them under our yoke, which is a very untruth; for wee endeavour not to perswade any body, that hee should deny due obedience (according to the word of God) to his Prince: But yee know well that for many yeares since, *Elizabeth* was deprived of her kingdome, and all her Subjects absolved from their fidelity by the Pope, unto whom, hee that raigneth in the heavens, the King of Kings, hath committed all power, that hee should roote up, destroy, plant, and build in such sort, that hee may punish temporall Kings (if it shall be good for the spirituall building) even to their deposing, which thing hath beene done in the kingdomes of England and Ireland, by many Popes, viz. by *Pius quintus*, *Gregory* the thirteenth, and now by *Clement* the eighth as it is well known. Whose Bulls are extant amongst us; I speake to Catholics, not to froward Heretikes, (who haue fallen from the faith of the Romane Church) seeing they are blind Leaders of the blind, and such as know not the grounds of the truth, it is no marvell that they doe also disagree from us in this thing: But our brethren the Catholics, walking in the purenesse of the faith, and yeelding to the Catholike Church (which is the very Pillar of the truth) will easily understand all those things: Therefore it remayneth that the Irish (which adhere to us) doe worke with us nothing that is against Gods Lawes, or their due obedience, nay that which



they doe is according to Gods word, and the obedience which they owe the Pope.

Secondly, yee affirme that wee Spaniards goe about to winne the Irish with allurements, and fained flatteries (which is a thing farre from our nature) and that wee doe it but for a while; that after wee haue drawn the minds of simple men unto us, wee might afterwards (exercising our cruelty towards them) shew our bloody nature: O the immortall God! who doth not wonder at your bitter and unexpressible cruelty, and your boldnesse shewed in these words: For who is it that doth not know the great cruelty which you English haue exercised, and cease not to exercise towards the miserable Irish: You I say goe about to take from their soules the Catholike faith which their fathers held, in which consists eternall life; truely you are farre more cruell then Beares and Lyons, which take away the temporall life, for you woold depriue them of the eternall and spirituall life. Who is it that hath demolished all the temporalities of this most flourishing kingdome except the English? looke upon this and bee ashamed: whereas on the other side wee commiserating the condition of the Catholikes here, haue left our most sweet and happy Countrey Spaine, that is replenished with all good things; and being stirred with their cryes, which pierce the heavens, having reached to the eares of the Pope, and our King *Philip*: They haue (being moved with pitie) at last resolved to send unto you Souldiers, Silver, Gold, and Armes



with a most liberall hand, not to the end they might (according as they faine) exercise cruelty towards you, O Irish Catholikes, but that you may bee happily reduced (being snatched out of the jawes of the divell, and free from their tyranny) unto your owne pristine ingenuitie, and that you may freely professe the Catholike faith : Therefore my most beloved, seeing that which you haue so many yeares before desired and begged for, with prayers and teares ; and that now, even now, the Pope Christs Vicar on earth, doth command you to take Armes for the defence of your faith : I admonish, exhort, and beseech you all ; all I say unto whom these Letters shall come ; that as soone as possibly you can, you come to us with your friends and weapons ; whosoever shall doe this, shall find us prepared, and wee will communicate unto them, those things which wee possesse : And whosoever shall (despising our wholesome councill) doe otherwise, and remaine in the obedience of the English, wee will persecute him as an Heretike, and a hatefull Enemy of the Church even unto death.

The Army rose and marched within halfe a mile of Kinsale, where they encamped under a hill (having not meanes to entrench) called Knock Robbin. Capitaine *Morgan* came out of England, and *Iolly* the Master Gunner from Waterford, whither some shipping was come from Dublin, with part of the provisions, but enforced to stay there, the wind being Southerly ; some few shot offered to disquiet the



Campe, but were soone beaten backe with very little disturbance.

The Army lay still there, many places viewed to sit downe fitly before the Towne, but the Artillery not yet come, no place was agreed upon.

An other offer made by the Enemy to disturbe the Campe that night, much greater then the former; but being readily answered, were soone repelled without hurt on our side.

Wee lay still there expecting the Provisions, some slight skirmishes in viewing of the Towne: Sir *Iohn Barkley* was this night appointed to giue an Allarme to the Towne, who beat in all the guards (without the Towne) into their trenches.

This night one thousand of the Spanyards, (or as some that came from them say, fiftene hundred) were come to the top of the Hill neere the Campe, to cut off some of the Scouts or Guards, or to attempt somewhat upon that Quarter; but being discovered by a partie of ours, (not much exceeding two hundred that were of purpose sent out to lye betweene the Towne and our Campe, commaunded by Sir *Iohn Barkley*, who had with him Captaine *Morris*) they set upon them, killed foure dead in the place, divers hurt, tooke some Armes, and other good spoyle, and beat them backe to the Towne; without losse of any one of our men, and not aboue three hurt,



*Cormocke Mac Dermond*, chiefe Lord of a Countrey called Muskery, comming with his Countrey rising out, to shew them to the Lord Deputie, was in his returne directed to march hard by the Spaniards trenches, which they had made upon the Hill without the Towne for their guards, which hee was willed to doe, the rather that the Spaniards might see the Irish serue on our sides. For this purpose were good seconds appoynted, yet out of sight of the Enemies: The Irish at the first went on well, & beat the Spaniards from their ground to the Towneward, but according to their custome soone fell off; by which meanes a Horseman (called *Courcy*) of the Lord Presidents, who had charged two Spaniards upon some advantage, was ingaged, and unhorsed before hee espyed himselfe in danger; which Sir *William Godolphin* seeing, who had the command of the Lord Deputies Troupe, charged one way upon their whole Numbers, and Captaine *Henry Barkley*, Cornet of the same Troupe, an other way at the same instant, and (notwithstanding their many Shott) draue them out of their Trenches, rescuing the Horseman and horse; and to the marvell of all the beholders, (considering the multitude of shot made at them, even upon the edge of the trench) came off without hurt, saue onely one horse killed, and one man slightly shot: of the enemies were killed foure, left dead in the place, and divers seene caried off, besides many other hurt.



Captaine *Thomas Button*, who had the wafting of the victualls with Munion from Dublin with the Queenes Pinnace, the *Moone*, arrived at Corke, and came to the Lord Deputie at the Campe, signifying the rest of the Shipping was comming from Dublin, that had layen at Waterford: He was that night sent away to bring his Ship about into the Harbour of Kinsale, and with Captaine *Wards* ship, which was directed to accompany him, whom wee were inforced to make use of before to guard that Victuall and Munion in Oyster Haven, which wee had brought with us from Corke, they were willed to trie if they could annoy the Castle of Rincorran, seated close upon the Harbour, and possessed by the Spanyard. But after they had spent many shott upon the Castle, and found they did them little hurt, their Ordnance being but small, they lay still onely to keepe the Harbour, that neither the Castle nor the Towne might be relieved by water, which was the chiefe cause of their sending thither, and which Captaine *Thomas Button*, notwithstanding many attempts made by the Spanyards and Natiues, very valiantly to his high commendations performed.

Wee had Newes of the shipping that came after Captaine *Button* from Waterford, that they were put into the Harbour at Corke, who presently had direction to worke about to another Creak, called Oyster Haven, lying betweene Corke and Kinsale, from whence they might more commodiously unlade their



Artillery and provisions, for the speedy use of the Army.

Wee resolved to rise and lye before the Towne ; but the shipping being not yet come about with the Artillery, and other necessaries, that day was spent in dispatching into England, and making all things fit to remooue. This night Captaine *Blaynie*, and Captaine *Flower* were sent out with five hundred Foote upon Discoverie that the Spanyards were drawne out of the Towne, and so lay readie for them, if they had come towards our Quarter, but they came not on.

The Army was ready to rise, but the weather falling out very fowle, direction was given to dislodge : foure naturall Spaniards came this day from the Enemy, choosing rather to put themselves upon the mercy of the State, then to liue under the tyrannie of their owne Commanders, who the next day were sent to Corke. This night Sir *Iohn Barkley* went out with some three hundred Foote, having with him Captaine *Flower*, Captaine *Morris*, and Captaine *Bostock*, out of these were chosen sixtie Pikes and Targets, to be the better undiscovered, who fell into their trenches, beate them to the Towne, and fell into the Gate with them, they killed and hurt aboue twentie of the Spaniards, betweene the Inner and the owter Gate, and returned having but three hurt.

The Army dislodged early, and encamped on a hill on the North side before Kinsale called the Spittle, somewhat more then musket shot from the Towne,



and there intrenched strongly: when we sate downe, wee discovered that the Spaniards had gotten a prey of two or three hundred Cowes, and many sheepe, which were (in an Iland as it seemed) upon the Southside of the Towne beyond the water, which wee could not come at, but by sending eight or nine miles about, where there was a necke of Land to goe into it; Captaine *Taffe* being sent with Horse and Foot, used such expedition in that businesse, as hee attayned the place before night, and by hote skirmish recovered the prey, saue onely some two hundred Cowes that the Spaniards had killed, although they were under the guard of a Castle, called Castle Ny Parke, which the Spaniards had manned to defend those Cattle.

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### CHAP. XIII.

*The Castle of Rincorran guarded by the Spaniards, besieged; and the Spaniards repulsed. The Castle of Rincorran battered by the Lord President. A remarkeable skirmish betweene us and the Spaniards that attempted to releue Rincorran. The Lord Awdley, Sir Oliver Saint-Iohn, and Sir Garret Harvy hurt. A Spanish Commander taken prisoner. The Enemy demanded a parley, but the Lord President refused to treat with the Messenger. The Commander parlied, but his offers were not accepted. The Enemy endeavoured to make an escape, wherein many were slaine and taken prisoners. Sir Oliver Saint-Iohn sent from the Lord Deputy with direction to the Lord President. The reasons that induced the Lord President to receiue the Spaniards that were in Rincorran to mercy. The agreement betweene the Lord President, and the Spanish Commander that was in Rincorran.*

**W**Ee attended all that day for the landing of the Artillery, and perfected the intrenchment about the



Armie, which was left unperfected the day before through the extreame fowlenesse of the weather ; and at night Sir *Iohn Barkley*, Sir *William Godolphin*, and Captaine *Bodly* were sent to view the most commodious place to plant the Artillery; for the battering of the Castle of Rincorran, which was situated upon the River of Kinsale, something more then a quarter of a mile from the Towne, very convenient to forbid our shipping to ride neere the same, wherein *Don Iohn de Aquila* the Spanish Generall, had placed a Captaine with one hundred and fiftie Souldiers, whom hee promised to releue if they were assayed, or bring them off in boats.

The two Culverings were landed, and all meanes vsed to mount them, but it could not bee done till the next day, so ill was every thing fitted, by reason there had beene no use of them of a long time.

These two Peeces were mounted, and all things put in a readinesse to batter the next day, the Spaniards in the Towne discovering our purpose, did that night assay to releue the Castle by Boats, and were valiantly repelled by Captaine *Button*, with shot out of his ship.

The two Culverings began to play upon the Castle of Rincorran, but within two or three shot the cariage of the better Culvering brake, and about two of the clock in the afternoone, the other received a



flawe, and by that meanes made unserviceable, so all that could bee done that day, was to mount the whole Culvering upon her cariage.

The same day they gaue an Alarme to our Campe, drawing Artillery out of the Towne, and with it played into our Campe, kild two neere the Lord Deputies tent with a Demy Cannon shot, and through the next tent to it, brake two Hogsheads of the Lord Deputies beere, and every shot that was made fell still in the Lord Deputies quarter neere his owne tent. *Don Iuan de Aquila* perceiving the Castle would be distressed, attempted to releue it by Boats, but Sir *Richard Percy* beate them off, who had the command of the Lord Presidents regiment, that this night was appointed to guard.

The Culvering in the morning began to play, and about nine of the clock the Demy Culvering was mounted, which after a few shot brake her Axel-tree; before three she was remounted, and by that time a Cannon likewise planted, and all the three Peeces without intermission played: The Lord President misliking the manner of the making of the battery, not being constantly made upon one place, but upon the Spikes of the Castle, requested the Lord Deputie to leaue that service to his care, whereunto he easily assented

To shew that hee was well experienced in the profession of a cannonier, wherein he had beene (by



reason of his employments) long practised, he performed the office of a Master-gunner, making some shot, and that the Artillery might play as well by night as day, himselfe did take and score out his ground-markes, and with his Quadrant tooke the true levell, so as the want of day-light was no hinderance; but in doing thereof he fairely escaped two Musket shott: for as he was standing at the Breech of a Cannon busie about his worke, the one lighted upon the muzzle of the Peece, the other upon the Carriage close to the Trunnions: While wee were busie attending the Battery, five hundred of the principall men drew out of Kinsale, with shew to goe to relieue Rincorran by land, toward a guard wee kept betweene Rincorran and the Towne, leaving a great grosse for the seconds under the walles, and under that colour to gaine a safe passage for their Boates thither; whereupon out of the Regiments (being then in Armes in the Campe) divers broken Companies drew that way, amongst which Sir *Oliver Saint-Iohn* sent Captaine *Roe* his Lieutenant Colonell, and Sir *Arthur Savages* Lieutenant with one hundred men, and seeing them likely to draw on a round Skirmish, tooke thirtie shott of his owne Company, and went up to them, where hee found Captaine *Roe*, and *Carbery*, (Lieutenant to Captaine *Thomas Butler*) skirmishing with Shot, the Enemy being hard by them with some two hundred men, and another grosse neere towards the



Towne to second them. The Lord *Audley* who drew some of his Regiment out of the Campe, was then coming up; as soone as Sir *Oliver Saint-Iohn* came where the skirmish was, hee saw the Enemies drawing up to giue a charge, comming close with their Pikes, whom they presently encountered, and beat them back towards their seconds, and made them retreat apace; Notwithstanding they played upon them with their small shott out of every house in that quarter of the Towne, being full of Towers and Castles.

In this Charge, Sir *Oliver* received on his Target and Body divers thrusts with the Pike, whereof one gaue him a very small hurt in the thigh; he killed a Leader, and one other with his owne hands. The Lord *Audley* coming up to the charge was shot through the thigh, Sir *Garret Harvie* hurt in the hand, and his horse killed under him, Capitaine *Butlers* Lieutenant was slaine, and foure other, Sir *Arthur Savages* Lieutenant shot through the Body, and thirtie other hurt; the Enemy left ten or eleuen dead in the place, besides those that were hurt, which in all likelihood were many, by reason of the neernesse of the shot; and as one reporteth, (that came the next day from Kinsale, and had bin in the Ghesthouse amongst them) 70 were brought thither hurt, whereof eight dyed that night: In this skirmish was taken prisoner *Iuan Hortensio de Contreras*, that had been Sergeant Major of the



forces in Brittany, and divers very good Armes, and Rapiers gotten from the Spaniards.

All this while the three Peeces played upon the Castle, untill sixe of the clock at night, at which time they in the Castle sounded the Drum, and prayed admission of parley, which the Lord President, (whom the Lord Deputie had left there, himselfe returning to take care of the Campe) accepted, there came with their Drum an Irish man borne in Corke, who prayed in the name of the rest, that they might bee licensed to depart to Kinsale with their Armes, bag and baggage; this being denied by the Lord President (who would not conclude with any, but the Commander of the place) hee returned the Messenger, willing him to tell the Commander that no other but himselfe should bee heard, and that hee had no commission to grant them any other composition then to yeeld to her Majesties mercy: Then immediately they sent the Drum againe, and with him a Serjeant called *Pedro de Herodiay cuacola* whom the Lord President refused to speake withall, upon whose returne the Commander himselfe called *Bartholomeo Paez de Clavijo an Alfero*, came to the Lord President, but not agreeing upon the conditions, for hee still insisted to depart with their Armes to Kinsale (being put safe into the Castle) the battery began afresh, and the Defendants bestowed thicker vollies of shot then at any time before; at length about two of the



clock, when they found the weake estate the Castle was growen into by furie of the battery, they sounded againe their Drumme for an other parley, which not being accepted, many of them endeavoured to escape under the Rocke close to the water side, which being espied by us our men ran presently close to the Castle wals, and if the Lord President had not forbidden them (although the breach was not sufficiently assaultable) they would have entered the house of those who attempted to escape, there were three and twentie Spaniards taken; and of this Countrey birth a great multitude of Churles, women and children, there was likewise slaine of the Spaniards towards thirtie; all this while the Enemy shot not a shot, but as men amazed lay still; of the Irish there was not a man taken that bare weapon, all of them being good Guids escaped, onely one *Dermond Mac Cartie*, by them called *Don Dermutio* was taken, who was then a pensioner to the King of Spaine, and heretofore a servant to *Florence Mac Cartie*.

A good while before day, the Lord Deputie sent Sir *Oliver Saint-Iohn* to the President, to signifie his pleasure unto him; which was if they would render themselues, hee should accept of their offer, excepting the Irish; not long after Sir *Oliver Saint Iohn* was departed (that no error might bee committed;) towards the morning the Lord President went to the Lord Deputie, to make relation of that



nights proceeding, and upon deliberation, it was thought convenient, if the Spaniards would quit their Armes and render the place, with promise of life onely to bee sent into Spaine, that they should bee received to mercy, the consideration whereof grew upon these reasons, the one because in forcing a breach it was likely many good men should bee lost, and also to intice others that are in Kinsale to leaue the place (wherein they felt misery) by the example of this mercifull dealing with those of Rincorran, but especially because expedition in the taking of this Castle had many important consequences.

About one houre after day, the Commander sent word to the Lord President that hee would render the place, and quit all their Armes, so as they might be sent to Kinsale, which being refused, hee entreated onely that himselfe might hold his armes, and bee sent to Kinsale, which also being denied, hee resolutely determined to bury himselfe in the Castle, and not to yeeld: his Company seeing his obstinacie, did threaten him to cast him out of the breach, so as they might be received to mercy; in the end it was concluded that all his people should be disarmed in the house, which was done by Captaine *Roger Harvie*, Captaine of the Guards that night, and himselfe to weare his sword untill hee came to the President, and then render it unto him, which



being performed upon his knees, they were brought prisoners into the Campe, and from thence immediately sent unto Corke.

The last of October, the President received a gracious Letter from her Majestie, all written with her owne hand, it was short, but yet therein is liuely expressed in what a thankefull sort his service was accepted, the true Copie whereof ensueth.

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#### CHAPTER XIV.

*Her Majesties Letter to the Lord President. A supply of Munition and victuals. A resolution in Councill that Forces should be sent to encounter O Donnell. The Lord President of a contrary opinion, and his reasons. The reasons why this service was imposed upon the Lord President. The Lord President marcheth towards O Donnell. O Donnell lodgeth neere the Holy Crosse, and the strength of his quarter. O Donnell by the meanes of a great Frost, passed over the Mountaine of Shewphelim, whereby he escaped from fighting with the Lord President. O Donnells hasty march. The principall men that were in O Donnells Army. The principall men in Tyrones Armie.*

Her Maiesties Letter unto the Lo. President.

*MY faithfull George, if ever more service of worth were performed in shorter space, than you haue done, Wee are deceived; among many eye-witnesses, Wee haue received the fruit thereof, and bid you faithfully credit, that what so Witt, Courage, or Care may doe, Wee truely finde, they*



*have beene all truly acted in all your Charge, and for the same beleue, that it shall neither bee unre-membered, nor unrewarded: And in meane while beleue, my Helpe nor Prayers shall never faile you.*

Your Sovereigne that best regards you,

ELIZ. R.

The second of November the Ordnance was drawne from Rincorran to the Campe.

The third, the Spanish Sergeant Major which had been taken prisoner upon the last of October, and the *Alferes*, which rendred himself upon the condition of life at Rincorran, obtained licence to write to *Don Iuan*, and one of our Drummes was sent to carry their Letters.

The fifth, foure Barques with Munitions and Victuals from Dublin, arrived in the Haven of Kinsale.

The sixth, upon certaine knowledge that *Tyrone* and *O Donnell* were drawing towards Mounster, the trenches of the Campe were made deeper and higher.

The seventh, the Lord Deputie having Intelligence that *Odonnell* with a great part of the Northern forces was advanced neere unto the Province,



to joyne with the Spanyards, and that *Tyrone* was but a few dayes journeyes short of him, it was debated in Councell, whether it were necessary that Forces should be sent towards him, to divert his intention: It was agreed by the greater part, that two or three Regiments of Foot, and some Horse should bee employed in that service. The President was of a contrary opinion, alledging for instance, that *Tyrone*, at his late being in Mounster, at whose returne the Earle of *Ormond* having good Especials, and very desirous to fight with him, yet could never haue sight of him, or of any of his company; and the reasons (sayd he) are very apparant, for they are sure to haue the Countrey to friend, to giue them howerly intelligence of our lodging and marches, and they are so light-footed, as if they once get the start of us, be it never so little, wee shall hardly or never overtake them. Notwithstanding these reasons, it was concluded that Forces should be sent; and for so much as the Countrey would be more willing to giue assistance to the Lord President, then to any other; as also because hee was best acquainted with the passages, and places of advantage, to giue *Odonnell* impediment: Hee was commaunded with his owne Regiment, and Sir *Charles Wilmots*, which were in List two thousand one hundred and fiftie, (but not by pole aboue one thousand, and three hundred and fiftie Horse in List, which were by pole two hundred and fiftie) to undertake the Service; and for his better strength Sir *Christopher*



*Saint-Laurence* (who with his Regiment was coming into *Mounster*, and was to meet him upon the way) should joyne with him, and also the Rising out of the Countrey. The President in Obedience, though without hope to meete with an Enemy, that hath no will to hazard his Troupes in fight, (for so hee conceived of *Odonnell*) the seventh of November left the Campe, and never ceased travelling untill with long and weary Marches hee came to *Ardmaile* in the Countie of *Tipperary*. *Odonnell* with his sharking Troupes, lodging not farre from the Holy Crosse, their Campes not being distant the one from the other aboue foure miles: But the Countrey stood so partially affected to the Traytors, as by no promise of reward, or other satisfaction could they bee induced to drawe any draught upon them: by reason whereof, (but with great disadvantage) no probable attempt of good successe could bee made upon them, being lodged (as they were) in a strong Fastnesse of Bogg and Wood, which was on every quarter plashed: For avoyding of confusion, I must aske some pardon of the Reader, to continue the Discourse of the Presidents Iourney, untill I speake any more of the siege at *Kinsale*: *Odonnell* on the other side fearing our forces, (which were encreased by a Regiment of Foot, and some Horse, which Sir *Christopher Saint-Laurence* brought with him, durst not enter farther into the Countrey, because hee could not avoyd us, and at that time hee and no other way to passe; for the Mountaine of



Slewphelim (which in Summer time is a good ground to passe over) was by reason of great raines, so wett and boggye, as that no Carriage or Horse could passe it.

This Mountaine is in the county of Typperarie, towards the Shenan, and from thence to come into the county of Limerick, the passage is through a straight, neere to the Abbey of *Ownhy*, which Abbey, from the place where *Odonnell* incamped in *Omaghers* Countrey, is at the least twentie Irish miles, having (as wee thought by lodging where wee did) prevented his passage, there hapned a great frost, the like whereof hath beene seldome seene in Ireland, and the Enemy being desirous to avoid us, taking the advantage of the time, rose in the night and marched over the Mountaine aforesaid; whereof as soone as wee were advertised, wee likewise rose from Cassell, whither wee were drawn (mistrusting that they would take the advantage of the frost) fower houres before day, in hope to crosse him before hee should passe the Abbey of *Ownhy*, supposing that it had not beene possible for him to haue marched farther (with his cariage) without resting: The next morning by eleaven of the clock wee were hard by the Abbey, but then wee understood that *Odonnell* made no stay there, but hastned to a house of the Countesse of *Kildares* called *Crome*, twelue miles from the Abby of *Ownhy*, so as his march from *Omaghers* Countrey to *Crome* (by the way which hee tooke)



without any rest was aboue two and thirtie Irish miles, the greatest march with cariage (whereof hee left much upon the way) that hath beene heard of: To overtake him wee marched the same day from Cashell to Kilmallock, more then twentie Irish miles, but our labour was lost: The morning following, *Odonnell* with all his forces rose from Crome, and lodged that night in the straight of Conneloghe, where hee rested a few dayes to refresh his tired and surbated Troopes: The President seeing that this lightfooted Generall could not bee overtaken, thought it meet to hasten to the Campe at Kinsale to prevent his comming thither, wherein wee vsed such expedition, as (if he had done his uttermost) we were sure to be there before him, or inforce him to fight with us, for wee tooke the next direct way, and he for his safety (to avoid us) marched a farther way about through Dowalla, and Muskry, which was very troublesome to passe with Horse and Baggage: the time of our returne to the Campe was the fiue and twentieth of the same Moneth: In our retreat towards Kinsale, betweene Kilmallock and Moyallo, we overtooke the Earle of Clanricard (with his Regiment) marching towards the Campe, and also betweene Moyallo and Corke, wee met with the Earle of Thomond, who was sent by the Lord Deputy with his Troope of Horse to follow the President.

There came into Mounster with *Odonnell*, these principall Gentlemen of Vlster and Connaght, viz.



*Orwrke, Mac Swiny ne Doa, Odogherty, Oboyle, the two Mac Donoghes, Mac Dermond, Okellie, Obirne, O Conner Roes two sonnes, Odonnels two brothers, Donnell O Conner Sligoes brother, the two Oflares, William Burke brother to Redmond, and Hughe Mostian, besides of Mounster men, the Lord of Lixnaw, Iohn fits Thomas, brother to the counterfeit Earle of Desmond, the Knight of the Valley, Dermond moyle Mac Cartie, brother to Florence, and many others: his whole number consisted neere unto foure thousand Foote and three hundred Horse; this was related unto the President by one Iames Welsh, who was with Odonnell, when he fled the incountering of the Presidents forces; hee also affirmed that Tyrone had in his Armie, Mac Genis, Mac Guire, Mac Maghon, Randell Mac Lorly, Oneale, and all the chieffes of Vlster with their forces.*

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## CHAP. XV.

*A part of Don Dermutio his Examination concerning a practise for the taking or killing of the Lord President. A Sally made by the enemy in Kinsale. A Spanish Captaine slaine. Master Hopton dyed of a hurt. The Earle of Thomond landed at Castlehaven with supplies of Horse and Foot. Supplies of Horse and Foot landed at Waterford. The Queenes Fleet, and supplies of Foot with munitions, &c. arrived at Corke. Castle Ny Parke attempted to be taken by us, but the Enterprise fayled. A Councell of Warre called by the Lord Deputie.*

**THE** dangerous hazard which the President was in, in this journey I may not omit to relate, as well for



the perill hee ranne, as for his temper; in not seeming to see that which hee perfectly knew, and despising it; for *Dermond Mac Cartie* called by the Spaniards *Don Dermutio*, taken as you haue heard at the siege of Rincorran, (being examined by the Councell) confessed to them, that *Cormuck Mac Dermond* Lord of Muskery, had intelligence with *Don Iohn*, and certaine presents had beene mutually given and received, and that the said *Cormuck* had undertaken, and faithfully promised, to deliver up the President to *Don Iohn* aliue or dead; the President was himselfe present at this examination, which notwithstanding, hee tooke the said *Cormuck*, and ten Horsemen his Followers along with him; rode with him, eate and dranke with him, and many times had private conference with him; not seeming to take notice of any treacherous intent; besides his Army consisting of three thousand or there abouts, what with Countrey risings out, and under Captaines in pay, two thousand of these were of Irish birth, no lesse affected to the Rebels then to themselues; and I can well assure the Reader upon good grounds, that if our forces had received any disaster, they would all haue turned Turkes, and cut the throats of their owne Commanders.

The eighth, certaine Ships to the number of thirteene, were discovered, passing by Kinsale to the Westward, but afterward it prooved to bee the Supplyes sent out of ENGLAND with the Earle of *Thomond*.



The Spanyard by that time had gotten knowledge of the departure of a good part of our Forces, and thereupon supposing us to be much weakened, (as it cannot be denyed but we were) and inferior to them in the Towne in bodies of men, they drew out (about noone) the most part of their Forces, and anon after sent some threescore Shott and Pike to the foot of the hill close by our Campe, leaving their Trenches very well lyned for their seconds: Some of ours were presently drawen out to entertaine the skirmish with those that came up, and another strong party was sent out towards Rincorran, who from the Bushie hill played in flancke upon their trenches, and beate them from the same; so as they that were first sent out close to our Campe, being beaten backe by our shot, and thinking to find the seconds they left behind them, were disappoynted by the quitting of their trenches, and by that meanes driven to follow the rest to the succour of the Towne; our men following them with much furie, hurt and killed divers, amongst whom they brought off the body of a Sergeant, and possessed the enemies trenches, the which the Enemy (being re-enforced) made many attempts to regaine, but were repulsed and beaten backe into the Towne; we heard by divers that *Don Iohn* committed the Sergeant Major (who commanded then in chiefe) presently after the fight, and threatned to take off his head, commended highly the valor of our men, and cryed shame upon the cowardise of his owne, who he said had beene the terror of all nations, but now had



lost that reputation, and he gaue straight commandement upon paine of death (which hee caused to be set upon the Towne gates) that from thenceforth no man should come off from any service, untill hee should be fetcht off by his Officer, though his powder were spent or his Peece broken, but make good his place with his sword; Captaine *Soto*, one of their best Commanders was that day slaine, for whom they made very great moane, and some twentie more besides were hurt, which could not but bee many; on our side onely some ten hurt and three killed; among whom Master *Hopton* a Gentleman of the Lord Deputies, was sore hurt, and since dyed thereof: If this skirmish had not bin readily and resolutely answered on our part, the Spaniards had then discovered the smalnesse of our numbers, and would no doubt haue so plyed us with continuall sallies, as wee should hardly haue beene able to continue the siege.

The same day wee had Newes of the Earle of *Thomonds* landing at Castlehaven, with one hundred horse, and one thousand foot of Supplies out of England in thirteene Ships, which by violence of foule weather had beene driven to the westermost part of Ireland, and with great difficultie recovered Castlehaven aforesaid, from whence the fifth day following hee came with Horse and Foot to the Campe at Kinsale; The next day being the eleventh, wee were advertised that Sir *Anthonie Cooke*, and *Patrick Arthur* were landed at Waterford with two thousand foot, and some horse.



The twelfth, Sir *Richard Levison*, Admirall, and Sir *Amias Preston*, Vice-Admirall of the Queenes Fleet for Ireland, with ten Shippes of Warre, arrived at Corke with two thousand Foot, besides Munitions, Cannoniers, Carpenters, Wheele-wrights, Smithes, &c. presently the Lord Deputie sent them direction to come for Kinsale.

The thirteenth, nothing was done either by us or the enemy.

The Queenes Ships with much difficultie recovered the harbour of Kinsale, the Admirall Sir *Richard Levison*, and the Vice-Admirall Sir *Amias Preston*, came to the Lord Deputies Campe: That day and the next day, the two thousand Land-forces were put on shoare, and before that wee had certaine newes of the arrivall of the other Forces from Barstable, and Bristoll, at Waterford, and Castlehaven: but they were not then come to the Campe, nor in many dayes after.

The Lord Deputie comming from aboard the Ships, a great shott was made at him from the Towne, from whence they might discerne him in the head of a Troupe, and yet missed him very little.

Some of the Queenes Ships (having direction) began to play upon a Castle in the Iland, called Castle Ny Parke, held fit next to bee taken, to invest the Towne on that side; they brake off some part of the top, but finding that they did it no greater hurt, they



left shooting, and the rather because that day and the two next proved so extreame stormie and foule, as the Ordnance could not bee landed, nor any thing else well done; yet out of an extraordinary desire to effect somewhat, the seventeenth being the most happy day of her Majesties Coronation, which wee meant to haue solemnized with some extraordinary Adventure, if the weather would haue suffered us to looke abroad: wee sent at night when the storme was somewhat appeased, the Sergeant Major, and Captaine *Bodly*, with some foure hundred Foot to discover the ground of Castle Ny Parke, and to see whether it might be carried with the Pickaxe, which was accordingly attempted; but the Engine wee had gotten to defend our men while they were at worke, being not so strong as it should haue beene, they within the Castle hauing store of very great stones on the top, tumbled them downe so fast as brake it, so as they returned with the losse of two men, and proceeded no further in that course.

The same day, the Lord Deputie called a Councell of warre, wherein it was propounded, that now that her Majestie had plentifully furnished us with men, munition, and victuals, we were to consider of our owne strength, and the best way either to attempt the Towne or to continue the siege, we were also to consider of the force of the Enemy within Kinsale, and what aides they were like to haue out of the Countrey, and of all other commodities, or incommodities that were to happen on either side: The conclusion and



resolution was, that wee should invest the Towne with all celerity, to keepe it short of reliefe, and before the making of a breach to breake their houses, that they might find no safetie in them, and thereby to bee exposed to the like incommoditie of cold and raine as wee felt in the Campe; in doing whereof it was conceived that many would bee slaine, and in danger the destroying their magazines of powder and victuals; for if presently we should make a breach and attempt it by assault, there was no difference, betweene a weake place (stored with bodies of men) and a strong fortified Towne; besides the Enemy had ground sufficient (if a breach were made) to cast up new earth workes, which would put us to more toyle and losse of men then an old stone wall; and (in the opinion of all the chieftest of the Armie) it was concluded, that wee could not doe the Enemy a greater pleasure, or unto our selues a greater disadvantage, then to seeke to carie it by a breach, before the forces in the Towne, either by sword or sicknesse were weakned.

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### CHAP. XVI.

*The Earle of Thomond with his supplyes came to the Campe. Castle ny Parke rendred by the Spaniards. A Spanish Captaine wounded whereof he dyed. A braue Act of a private Souldier. Approaches made neerer to the Towne. The Lord President with the Earles of Thomond and Clanricard returned to the Campe. A sally made by the Spaniards.*

**THE** Earle of Thomond also with one thousand Foote, and one hundred Horse (having beene by



force of weather driven farre to the Westward, and with much difficultie had recovered Castle-haven) came thence by Sea to the port of Kinsale: The Lord Deputie to refresh his men and horses, sent them to Corke, for in their healths they were impaired; and that evening some Spaniards fled from Kinsale, and voluntarily came to our Campe.

A Demy Cannon was unshipped assoone as it was calme, and placed on this side the water, which played most part of that day upon that Castle, and brake many places, but made no breach that was assaultable: In the night they of the Towne attempted to releue the Castle by boat, but were repelled by Captaine *Tolkern*, and Captaine *Ward*, who lay with their Pinnaces betweene the Iland and the Towne.

The Demy Cannon played againe, and a Cannon then landed and placed by it (with some Ordnance also out of the Ship) though they served to small purpose; about noone one hundred men were sent with Captaine *Yorke* and Captaine *Smith*, to view if the breach were assaultable, and though they found it was not, yet the Spanyards within being no longer able to endure the fury of the shot, hung out a signe for parley, (upon the first shew of our men) and yeelded themselues and the Castle upon promise of their liues onely; which being accepted, they brought them presently to the Campe, being in number seventeene: Before the Castle was yeelded, the Spanyards



in the Towne made divers shot at Captaine *Tolkernes* Pinnace, with a piece of Ordnance which they mounted a day or two before close to the gate of the Towne, but did no hurt at all unto her; the Pinnace warping neerer to the other side under the hill, and at last rode safely without danger of the shott: The same day a Platforme was made upon a ground of advantage, (not farre from the Campe) that commanded one part of the Towne, that under the favour thereof wee might the better make our neerer Approaches, which at that time wee could hardly haue done, by reason of the great extreame frost, and a Demy-Cannon mounted vpon it, with which some shot was made at the Towne, and a Sentinell taken anon after affirmed, that the first Piece shot off went through the house that *Don Iohn* was in, and did otherwise great hurt.

An other Cannon was brought up, and planted by the Demy-cannon, which the night before was brought from the Ship, and this day the Lord Deputie went over into the Iland, to view how from thence the Towne might be best annoyed and invested.

Also the Prisoners which were taken at Castle Parke, were sent to Corke, with direction to the Major, to send them, and all the former Prisoners into England, the Sergeant Major, and the Com-



without any rest was aboue two and thirtie Irish miles, the greatest march with cariage (whereof hee left much upon the way) that hath beene heard of: To overtake him wee marched the same day from Cashell to Kilmallock, more then twentie Irish miles, but our labour was lost: The morning following, *Odonnell* with all his forces rose from Crome, and lodged that night in the straight of Conneloghe, where hee rested a few dayes to refresh his tired and surbated Troopes: The President seeing that this lightfooted Generall could not bee overtaken, thought it meet to hasten to the Campe at Kinsale to prevent his comming thither, wherein wee vused such expedition, as (if he had done his uttermost) we were sure to be there before him, or inforce him to fight with us, for wee tooke the next direct way, and he for his safety (to avoid us) marched a farther way about through Dowalla, and Muskry, which was very troublesome to passe with Horse and Baggage: the time of our returne to the Campe was the fiue and twentieth of the same Moneth: In our retreat towards Kinsale, betweene Kilmallock and Moyallo, we overtooke the Earle of Clanricard (with his Regiment) marching towards the Campe, and also betweene Moyallo and Corke, wee met with the Earle of Thomond, who was sent by the Lord Deputy with his Troope of Horse to follow the President.

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the perill hee ranne, as for his temper; in not seeming to see that which hee perfectly knew, and despising it; for *Dermond Mac Cartie* called by the Spaniards *Don Dermutio*, taken as you haue heard at the siege of Rincorran, (being examined by the Councell) confessed to them, that *Cormuck Mac Dermond* Lord of Muskery, had intelligence with *Don Iohn*, and certaine presents had beene mutually given and received, and that the said *Cormuck* had undertaken, and faithfully promised, to deliver up the President to *Don Iohn* aliue or dead; the President was himselfe present at this examination, which notwithstanding, hee tooke the said *Cormuck*, and ten Horsemen his Followers along with him; rode with him, eate and dranke with him, and many times had private conference with him; not seeming to take notice of any treacherous intent; besides his Army consisting of three thousand or thereabouts, what with Countrey risings out, and under Captaines in pay, two thousand of these were of Irish birth, no lesse affected to the Rebels then to themselues; and I can well assure the Reader upon good grounds, that if our forces had received any disaster, they would all haue turned Turkes, and cut the throats of their owne Commanders.

The eighth, certaine Ships to the number of thirteene, were discovered, passing by Kinsale to the Westward, but afterward it prooved to bee the Supplyes sent out of ENGLAND with the Earle of *Thomond*.



The Spanyard by that time had gotten knowledge of the departure of a good part of our Forces, and thereupon supposing us to be much weakened, (as it cannot be denyed but we were) and inferior to them in the Towne in bodies of men, they drew out (about noone) the most part of their Forces, and anon after sent some threescore Shott and Pike to the foot of the hill close by our Campe, leaving their Trenches very well lyned for their seconds: Some of ours were presently drawn out to entertaine the skirmish with those that came up, and another strong party was sent out towards Rincorran, who from the Bushie hill played in flancke upon their trenches, and beate them from the same; so as they that were first sent out close to our Campe, being beaten backe by our shot, and thinking to find the seconds they left behind them, were disappoynted by the quitting of their trenches, and by that meanes driven to follow the rest to the succour of the Towne; our men following them with much furie, hurt and killed divers, amongst whom they brought off the body of a Sergeant, and possessed the enemies trenches, the which the Enemy (being re-enforced) made many attempts to regaine, but were repulsed and beaten backe into the Towne; we heard by divers that *Don Iohn* committed the Sergeant Major (who commanded then in chiefe) presently after the fight, and threatned to take off his head, commended highly the valor of our men, and cryed shame upon the cowardise of his owne, who he said had beene the terror of all nations, but now had



lost that reputation, and he gaue straight commandement upon paine of death (which hee caused to be set upon the Towne gates) that from thenceforth no man should come off from any service, untill hee should be fetcht off by his Officer, though his powder were spent or his Peece broken, but make good his place with his sword; Captaine *Soto*, one of their best Commanders was that day slaine, for whom they made very great moane, and some twentie more besides were hurt, which could not but bee many; on our side onely some ten hurt and three killed; among whom Master *Hopton* a Gentleman of the Lord Deputies, was sore hurt, and since dyed thereof: If this skirmish had not bin readily and resolutely answered on our part, the Spaniards had then discovered the smalnesse of our numbers, and would no doubt haue so plyed us with continuall sallies, as wee should hardly haue beene able to continue the siege.

The same day wee had Newes of the Earle of *Thomonds* landing at Castlehaven, with one hundred horse, and one thousand foot of Supplies out of England in thirteene Ships, which by violence of foule weather had beene driven to the westermost part of Ireland, and with great difficultie recovered Castlehaven aforesaid, from whence the fifth day following hee came with Horse and Foot to the Campe at Kinsale; The next day being the eleventh, wee were advertised that Sir *Anthonie Cooke*, and *Patrick Arthur* were landed at Waterford with two thousand foot, and some horse.



The twelfth, Sir *Richard Levison*, Admirall, and Sir *Amias Preston*, Vice-Admirall of the Queenes Fleet for Ireland, with ten Shippes of Warre, arrived at Corke with two thousand Foot, besides Munitions, Cannoniers, Carpenters, Wheele-wrights, Smithes, &c. presently the Lord Deputie sent them direction to come for Kinsale.

The thirteenth, nothing was done either by us or the enemy.

The Queenes Ships with much difficultie recovered the harbour of Kinsale, the Admirall Sir *Richard Levison*, and the Vice-Admirall Sir *Amias Preston*, came to the Lord Deputies Campe: That day and the next day, the two thousand Land-forces were put on shoare, and before that wee had certaine newes of the arrivall of the other Forces from Barstable, and Bristoll, at Waterford, and Castlehaven: but they were not then come to the Campe, nor in many dayes after.

The Lord Deputie comming from aboard the Ships, a great shott was made at him from the Towne, from whence they might discerne him in the head of a Troupe, and yet missed him very little.

Some of the Queenes Ships (having direction) began to play upon a Castle in the Iland, called Castle Ny Parke, held fit next to bee taken, to invest the Towne on that side; they brake off some part of the top, but finding that they did it no greater hurt, they



left shooting, and the rather because that day and the two next proved so extreame stormie and foule, as the Ordnance could not bee landed, nor any thing else well done; yet out of an extraordinary desire to effect somewhat, the seventeenth being the most happy day of her Majesties Coronation, which wee meant to haue solemnized with some extraordinary Adventure, if the weather would haue suffered us to looke abroad: wee sent at night when the storme was somewhat appeased, the Sergeant Major, and Captaine *Bodly*, with some foure hundred Foot to discover the ground of Castle Ny Parke, and to see whether it might be carried with the Pickaxe, which was accordingly attempted; but the Engine wee had gotten to defend our men while they were at worke, being not so strong as it should haue beene, they within the Castle hauing store of very great stones on the top, tumbled them downe so fast as brake it, so as they returned with the losse of two men, and proceeded no further in that course.

The same day, the Lord Deputie called a Councell of warre, wherein it was propounded, that now that her Majestie had plentifully furnished us with men, munition, and victuals, we were to consider of our owne strength, and the best way either to attempt the Towne or to continue the siege, we were also to consider of the force of the Enemy within Kinsale, and what aides they were like to haue out of the Countrey, and of all other commodities, or incommodities that were to happen on either side; The conclusion and



resolution was, that wee should invest the Towne with all celerity, to keepe it short of reliefe, and before the making of a breach to breake their houses, that they might find no safetie in them, and thereby to bee exposed to the like incommoditie of cold and raine as wee felt in the Campe; in doing whereof it was conceived that many would bee slaine, and in danger the destroying their magazines of powder and victuals; for if presently we should make a breach and attempt it by assault, there was no difference, betweene a weake place (stored with bodies of men) and a strong fortified Towne; besides the Enemy had ground sufficient (if a breach were made) to cast up new earth workes, which would put us to more toyle and losse of men then an old stone wall; and (in the opinion of all the chieftest of the Armie) it was concluded, that wee could not doe the Enemy a greater pleasure, or unto our selues a greater disadvantage, then to seeke to carie it by a breach, before the forces in the Towne, either by sword or sicknesse were weakned.

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#### CHAP. XVI.

*The Earle of Thomond with his supplies came to the Campe. Castle ny Parke rendred by the Spaniards. A Spanish Captaine wounded whereof he dyed. A braue Act of a private Souldier. Approaches made neerer to the Towne. The Lord President with the Earles of Thomond and Clanricard returned to the Campe. A sally made by the Spaniards.*

**THE** Earle of Thomond also with one thousand Foote, and one hundred Horse (having beene by



force of weather driven farre to the Westward, and with much difficultie had recovered Castle-haven) came thence by Sea to the port of Kinsale: The Lord Deputie to refresh his men and horses, sent them to Corke, for in their healths they were impaired; and that evening some Spaniards fled from Kinsale, and voluntarily came to our Campe.

A Demy Cannon was unshipped assoone as it was calme, and placed on this side the water, which played most part of that day upon that Castle, and brake many places, but made no breach that was assaultable: In the night they of the Towne attempted to releue the Castle by boat, but were repelled by Captaine *Tolkern*, and Captaine *Ward*, who lay with their Pinnaces betweene the Iland and the Towne.

The Demy Cannon played againe, and a Cannon then landed and placed by it (with some Ordnance also out of the Ship) though they served to small purpose; about noone one hundred men were sent with Captaine *Yorke* and Captaine *Smith*, to view if the breach were assaultable, and though they found it was not, yet the Spaniards within being no longer able to endure the fury of the shot, hung out a signe for parley, (upon the first shew of our men) and yeelded themselues and the Castle upon promise of their liues onely; which being accepted, they brought them presently to the Campe, being in number seventene: Before the Castle was yeilded, the Spaniards



in the Towne made divers shot at Captaine *Tolkernes* Pinnace, with a piece of Ordnance which they mounted a day or two before close to the gate of the Towne, but did no hurt at all unto her; the Pinnace warping neerer to the other side under the hill, and at last rode safely without danger of the shott: The same day a Platforme was made upon a ground of advantage, (not farre from the Campe) that commanded one part of the Towne, that under the favour thereof wee might the better make our neerer Approaches, which at that time wee could hardly haue done, by reason of the great extreame frost, and a Demy-Cannon mounted vpon it, with which some shot was made at the Towne, and a Sentinell taken anon after affirmed, that the first Piece shot off went through the house that *Don Iohn* was in, and did otherwise great hurt.

An other Cannon was brought up, and planted by the Demy-cannon, which the night before was brought from the Ship, and this day the Lord Deputie went over into the Iland, to view how from thence the Towne might be best annoyed and invested.

Also the Prisoners which were taken at Castle Parke, were sent to Corke, with direction to the Major, to send them, and all the former Prisoners into England, the Sergeant Major, and the Com-



manders of Rincorran, and Castle Ny Parke excepted; and this day a great number of Irish women and children were put out of Kinsale, to try their fortunes in the Countrey.

Foure other Peeces were planted by the Cannon and Demy Cannon, which altogether played into the Towne; one of those shott killed foure men in the Market place, and stricke off a Captaines leg, called *Don Iohn de Saint-Iohn*, who is since dead of the hurt.

That Evening one *Iames Grace*, an Irishman, ran out of Kinsale, assuring the Lo: Deputie that *Don Iohn* at his landing was five thousand men, and that hee was yet three thousand strong; that he had four Peeces of Ordnance well mounted; that the Irish which were with him were so much affrighted with our Artillery, as *Don Iohn* had much to doe to hold them, whose departure, (if it should happen) would be a great want unto him, for by them hee received ease and comfort; and that *Don Iohns* house where hee lodged, had been shot through with a great shot.

The sixe Peeces began againe about ten a clocke to batter upon the Towne, and so continued till night, in which time, and in all mens judgments, as by report of the Prisoners wee tooke, they did



great hurt to the Towne. This day, while the Lord Deputie, the Marshall, and the Sergeant Major were viewing the ground where the approaches were intended, a private Souldier of Sir *Francis Barkleyes*, in the face of the Guards, attempting to steale, (as hee had done divers times before) a Spanish Sentinell, who was seconded with foure that hee saw not, fought with them all fieve, whereof one of them was the Sergeant Major, whom he had almost taken, and when he had found he could doe no good upon them all, hee came off without other hurt, then the cutting of his hand a little with the breaking of a thrust, which one of them made at him, and hurt the Sergeant Major. The Lord Deputie this night began to make his approaches neerer the towne, and for that purpose caused some 1000 Foot to be drawne out by Sir *Iohn Barkley*, Sir *Benjamin Berry*, and Captaine *Bodley*, who continued the worke all night, and although the ground were extreame hard, (by reason of the frost) and the night very light, yet they brought the worke to very good perfection; the Enemy played all the night upon them with great Volleyes, but hurt but three men neither in the Trenches, nor in divers Sallies they made, in the one whereof a Squadron of our new men beat them backe to the gates: In the Euening his Lordship sent direction to Sir *Richard Levison* to land three Culverings this night, and to plant them in the Iland, about Castle Ny Parke, that from thence they



might likewise make Battery upon the Towne, and Sir *Richard* drewe in the Admirall, and Vice-Admirall betweene the Towne and the Iland, from whence they did great hurt in the Towne the next day.

All the Artillery still played; but because the shot from the ships did but little hurt, (saue onely upon the base Towne) the Lord Deputie gaue direction to make very few shot, except it were at the high Towne. In the afternoone, the Lord President, the Earles of Thomond, and Clanricard, Sir *Thomas Burke*, and divers others returned to the Campe, *Odonnell* with his force being stollen by them; This night direction was given to haue a Plat-forme made for the Artillery, upon the trench which was made on Monday night; somewhat after midnight the Spaniards made a sudden salley, with purpose to force that trench, but were quickly repelled by Sir *Francis Barkley*, who commanded there that night.

The Companies that went with the Lord President returned, and with them two other Regiments of the Earle of Clanricards, and Sir *Christopher Saint-Lawrence*: the Regiments were that night quartered by themselues, upon the West side of Kinsale to invest the Towne, and keepe the Spaniards and *Odonnell* from joyning. This night the three Culverings from the Iland were planted on the poynt of the hil, neere the water, on this side behind the last trenches: This morning the Spaniards played with a Demy



Cannon (from the Towne) upon the Admirall, which was twice shot, and the Viceadmirall once; they riding both close by the Towne, and shot being made from those ships, they dismounted the Spaniards Peece within, and hurt their chiefe Gunner, so as it played no more.

Betimes in the morning those three Peeces from the poynt of the Hill, neere the water played upon the Towne, doing great hurt, by reason they were so neere planted, but because the day fell out extreame windy and rainy, they were enforced to leaue, and spent the rest of the day in drawing downe some other Peeces, that were planted upon the first plat-forme.

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## CHAP. XVII.

*The Towne of Kinsale summoned, and Don Iuan his Answer. The Spaniards beaten out of their trenches. The Marshall went to view the Towne, to discover a fit place to batter. A skirmish entertayned for the viewing of the breach. An intrenchment made on the West side of the Towne. A bold attempt of a Sergeant of ours, wherein he was slaine. A Souldier slaine standing betweene the Lord Deputy and Lord President. The great sally made by the Enemy with a furious charge, both upon the plat-forme where the battery was placed, and upon a new entrenchment on the West side of the towne; the Enemy repulsed and beaten. The Enemy gained our entrenchment on the West side of the towne. The entrenchment recovered from the Enemy. The losse on the Enemies part, and on our part.*

**I**N the morning a Trumpeter was sent to summon Kinsale, who was not suffered to enter into the



Towne, but receiving his answer at the Gate, *viz.* that they held the Towne first for Christ, and next for the King of Spaine, & so would defend it, *Contra tutti inimici*: upon his returne with this answer, the Lord Deputie gaue direction to beginne the battery with all the Artillery, who continued in shooting upon the Gate till towards night, and brake a great part threof, during the time the Ordnance played; Sir *Christopher Saint-Lawrence* drew out from the other Campe some Foote, and gaue upon the Spaniards trenches, which they possessed (with great numbers;) at the other end of the Towne being enforced to goe thereunto, through the furie of the shot, which they could not endure in that part of the Towne, where the Ordnance played, at his first giving upon them, hee beate them out of the trenches following them to the very Gate of the Towne, and killed some of them returning, without losse on our side saue onely some hurt.

All the Artillery still played, and brake downe most part of the Gate, and some part of a new worke made before the Gate.

The Marshall taking some fiftie shot, went to the wall of the Towne to view, which was the best place to make a breach, and found the wall close to the Gate on the right hand to bee the fittest; after he had taken view, and made a slight skirmish with the Spaniards, hee returned without any losse, saving some three hurt, and caused the Artillery to beate



upon that place, who played upon it (without any intermission) and brake downe before night, a very great part of the wall, which the Enemy attempted to make up in the night, but were beaten from it by our Guards, who played upon them most part of the night: A Spaniard ran away this day from Kinsale, who reported to the Lord Deputie, that our Artillery had killed divers Captaines in the Towne, besides private Souldiers.

Resolved in Councell (and by the Councell of warre) that some Foote should be drawen out of the Campe to giue the Spaniards a bravadoe, and to view whether the breach was assaultable, and to cause the Spaniards to shew themselues, that our Artillery might the better play upon them; whereupon two thousand Foote commanded by Sir *Iohn Barkley* and Captaine *Blaynie* were presently put in Armes, and drawen neere the wals of the Towne, who entertayned a very hot skirmish with the Spaniards, that had lodged themselues in a trench close to the breach without the Towne; during the continuance of this skirmish, our Artillery played upon those that shewed themselues, either on the breach or in the trench, and killed many of them, besides such as were killed and hurt by our small shot; after an houres fight (or thereabouts) when full view was taken, in what manner the breach was, and found not to bee assaultable, our men were drawen off with little or no hurt on our side, saving some three hurt, and Captaine *Guests* horse killed



under him, who before killed two or three with his owne hands: This night the Marshall, Sir *Iohn Barkley*, Captaine *Blaynie*, and Captaine *Bodly* (the Lord Deputie leaving the President in the Campe, being almost all night present) drew out fieve and twentie of every Company, and intrenched themselues on a Hill, on the West side of the Towne, within lesse then halfe Callivers shot of the same, and cast up a small fort, to lodge some Foote to serue as seconds for the Artillery (that was to be planted) not farre from it; our men being at worke, the Spaniards about midnight began to play upon them from the wals, and from a trench, they possessed close to the West gate, and so continued very hotly till the morning; our men (that guarded the Pioners) playing likewise upon them, and divers hurt and killed on either side.

Our men continued still in that worke, and brought the same before night to very good perfection, though the Spaniards (from their high Castles, and other places of the Towne) sought to annoy them what they could. While our men were thus at worke, a Sergeant of Captaine *Blaynies* drew out some seven or eight shott, and suddenly fell into a trench (that the Spaniards possessed) close to the towne, wherein were some nine or ten Spaniards, of which the Sergeant killed two with his owne hands, and the rest every man one; Not being contented therewith, he attempted to giue upon another Trench possessed by the Spaniards some good distance from it; but in



going on, the Sergeant was shott through the body, and his company in bringing him off had two hurt, and returned without any more losse.

The same day the Lord Deputie, and the Lord President came to see the new Worke, and as they were discoursing very neere together, a Musket shot from the Towne passed betweene them, and brake the backe bone of a Souldier that stood close by them, whereof hee dyed.

This night the Trenches where the Cannon was planted, being manned with the Lord Deputies Company, (commanded by Captaine *Iames Blunt*) Sir *Thomas Burkes*, commaunded by his Lieutenant, Sir *Benjamin Berries*, commanded by his Lieutenant, Captaine *Rotheram* himselfe, and Captaine *Hobbie*, Captaine *Muses* commanded by his Lieutenant, and Captaine *Roger Harvie* commanding in chiefe, being Captaine of the Watch: in a fort on the West neere the Towne betweene the two Campes, that was made the morning before, being manned by Captaine *Flower*, with Sir *Arthur Savages* Company, Sir *Iohn Dowdalls* Company, Captaine *Dillon*, Captaine *Spencer*, Captaine *Mastersons* Lieutenant, and Sir *William Warrens* Lieutenant, with certaine Squadrons out of the Earle of *Thomonds* Quarter, who stood in guard without the Trenches: The Enemie sallyed about eight of the clocke in the night (being extreame darke and raynie) with about two thousand men, and first gaue slightly towards the new Trenches upon the West side, and



presently after with a great grosse upon the trench of the Cannon, continuing their resolution to force it with exceeding fury, having brought with them tooles of divers sorts, to pull downe the Gabions and Trenches, and Spikes to cloy the Artillery: The Allarme being taken in the Camp, the Marshall with Sir *John Barkley*, and Sir *William Fortescue*, Sir *Francis Rush*, and Captaine *Roe*, with some five or sixe hundred sallyed presently towards the Cannon for their seconds, and Sir *Benjamin Berry* fell out with some hundred directly towards the Port of the Towne next to the Campe, to whose seconds the Lord Deputie sent Sir *Oliver Saint-Iohn*: Vpon the arrivall of the Marshall with his Forces the enemy brake, and our men did execution upon them; Sir *Benjamin Berry* fell directly upon the Enemies seconds, whom he presently charged and brake, killed many of them, and tooke the Commander of that body, being an ancient Captaine of chiefe account with the enemy. At the same time the enemy gaue upon our new Trenches, and continued the attempt a long time with great fury, till Captaine *Flower* sallying out, and beating backe part of their forces, the enemy entred before his returne, and were possessed of the Trenches, in which time Sir *William Godolphin* gaue many charges, for the seconding of our men, which continued fight in the field untill the Earle of *Clanricard*, (being sent for their second) with Captaine *Shipwith*, Captaine *Slingsby*, Captaine *Clare*, Captaine *Boise*, and Captaine *Thomas Burke*, with some sixtie men, for the rest of his Regiment was not



advanced, so farre charged a grosse of the Enemies without the fort, brake them, and did execution upon them towards the Towne, and returning entered the fort againe (which the Enemy abandoned) with little resistance, and made it good till hee was releevd: In this sally the Enemy left behind them aboue sixscore dead bodies, besides such as were killed neere the Towne, and wee tooke nine prisoners, of whom there was a Captaine, a Sergeant, and a Drum; but since wee heard out of the Towne that they lost dead aboue two hundred of their best men, and two Captaines, and two Alfeeroes, and the Sergeant Major, being the second Commander to *Don Iohn*, and *Don Carloes Carty*, and aboue two hundred hurt; of our part were hurt Captaine *Flower*, Captaine *Shipwith* (slightly in the face) the Earle of Clanricards Lieutenant, Captaine *Dillon* killed, Captaine *Spencer*, Captaine *Flowers* Lieutenant, and some fieve and twentie private Souldiers; the Enemy at the Cannon, cloyed a Demy Culvering, which being a little crased was left without the fort, but the next morning it was made serviceable againe. There were some of them killed upon the Cannon, and upon the powder, and the trenches (in some places) filled with their dead bodies, and in that attempt (of the Cannon onely) seventy two dead bodies (were left in the place) of the best men the Spaniards had, whereof many of them were found with Spikes and Hammers, to cloy the Cannon: The Captaines, Officers, and Souldiers that defended the Cannon acquitted themselues singularly well.



## CHAP. XVIII.

*A supply of Spaniards landed at Castle-haven. A Councell of warre held. Good service done by a Scottish man. Odonnell joyned with the Spaniards at Castle-haven. All the Irish in the West of Mounster, and some of the English race, revolted and adhered to the Spaniards. Sundry Castles rendred by the Irish into the Spaniards hands. Divers of the Irish had Companies in pay given them by Don Iuan. The Castle of Carigfoile taken and the Ward murdered. Tyrones Army discovered neere to our Campe.*

**I**Ntelligence sent to the Lord Deputie, that sixe Spanish ships were put into Castle-haven, and that sixe more were sent with them from the Groyne, but in comming were severed by tempest, and no certaintie what is become of them; in these were said to bee two thousand Spaniards, come with great store of Ordnance and munition, and that two thousand more were comming presently after.

A confirmation of the Spaniards being at Castle-haven, and that they were landed, whereupon it was resolved in Councell, that our Campe should be strengthened, and the Artillery better intrenched and guarded, and to leaue battering: the other Campe to rise and sit downe close by the Towne, betweene the North and the West gate, adding one Regiment more to it, and all the Horse to be drawn into our Campe; a Drum was sent to *Don Iohn*, to offer him to bury his dead bodies, which hee tooke thankfully, praying that we would bury them, and that hee would doe the



like for any of ours, if they hapned in his power. And this day Sir *Charles Wilmot* with his Regiment, was commanded for the better strengthning of the Earle of Thomonds quarter, to rise out of the Lord Deputies Campe and lodge there. Sir *Richard Levison*, with a good part of the Fleete with towing got out of the harbour, to seeke the Spanish fleete at Castlehaven, to take them if hee could, or otherwise to distresse them as much as hee might.

A Scottishman that had some eightie of those Spaniards aboard, put into Kinsale harbour in the morning, and getting a boat, acquainted Sir *Amias Preston* (the Viceadmirall) therewith, and put them into his hands; whereupon the said Scottishman, and foure of the chiefe Spaniards (being Officers) were brought to the Lord Deputy, and examined before his Lordship, the Lord President, and divers others of the Councill, their examinations were sent into England; the Ships were heard to be in fight that day. This day our Ordnance was drawen from the old platformes into our Campe, the better to intend the service of the Field, and to place them more commodiously towards the West side of the Towne, if wee should see cause. Newes came this Evening, that *Odonnell* was joyned with the Spaniards landed at Castle-haven, and that *Tirone* with his Force was very neere vs.

The same day, the Ditches and Trenches of the Lord Deputies Campe, and the Earle of *Thomonds*



Quarter, were cast deeper and higher, and it was resolved, that two small Forts should bee rayzed betweene the Earle of *Thomonds* Quarter, and the water side, so that the Towne might bee wholly invested, to forbid any accesse to or from it.

Vntill this time none of the Provincials of *Mounster*, that had beene either protected or pardoned, relapsed; but now upon the comming of these seconds to Castlehaven, Sir *Finnin Odriscall*, and all the *Odriscalls*, Sir *Owen Mac Carties* sonnes, and almost all the *Carties* in *Carbrie*, *Donnell Osulevan Beare*, *Osulevans Mores* eldest son, *Donnell Mac Cartie*, the Earle of *Clan-Cares* base sonne, with all the *Carties* of *Desmond*, *Iohn O Conner Kerry*, the Knight of *Kerry*, all the protected and pardoned men in *Kerry* and *Desmond*, and all else from *Kinsale* and *Limericke* westwards, joyned with *Odonnell* and the Spaniards; whereat little wonder is to bee made, considering what power Religion and Gold hath in the hearts of men; both which the Spaniards brought with them into Ireland. The supplies of Spaniards were but seven hundred, but more were promised to follow; which mooved the wavering Irish to conceiue, that now the time was come for their deliverance from the English Government; whereupon they cast themselues into the Spaniards armes, and for testimonie of their truths, *Donogh Odrischall* delivered unto them his Castle at Castlehaven, which commanded the Harbour, Sir *Finnin*



*Odrischall*, (who never in the course of his whole life had beene tainted with the least spot of disloyaltie) rendred unto them his Castle of *Donneshed* at *Baltimore*, and his Castle of *Donnelong*, in the Iland of *Inisherkan*, betweene which Castles all entrances into that Haven was debarred; and *Donnell Osulevan* surrendred unto them his strong Castle of *Dunboy*, which absolutely commaunds Beare Haven; these three Harbours, beeing without all exception the best in the West of Mounster: For the guard of those places *Don Iohn* assigned, that one hundred of the late supplies should remaine at Castle-haven, with a Magazine of Victualls and Munition, and eight Peeces of Ordnance; unto *Donneshed* and *Donnelong* hee sent one hundred Foot, fiftie for each of the Castles, and two Peeces of Artillerie; and unto *Dunboy* hee also sent one hundred Foot, and ten great Peeces: And to confirme these revoltors by liberality unto his Master the King of Spaine, hee bestowed upon *Donnell Osulevan* two hundred foote in the Kings pay, unto *Donoghe Moyle Mac Cartie*, sonne to Sir *Owen Mac Cartie Reughe* one hundred, upon *Finin Mac Cartie* his brother one hundred and twentie, and upon *Phelim Mac Cartie* one hundred, and to *Odonevan* one hundred; in all sixe hundred and twentie in the Kings entertainment, and upon others hee bestowed certaine summes of money. About this time also (not many dayes after this defection) *Iohn O Conner Kerry*, found the meanes to betray the Castle of Carrigfoyle which was his, and



then guarded for her Majestie by a Sergeant, and twelue Souldiers of Captaine *Saxies* company.

The other Campe strengthened their trenches, and a resolution to make two small forts beyond the Campe Westward, wholly to invest the Towne, the forts and the Campe one to flancke another.

The Artillery was planted in severall places of the Campe, for the best defence thereof, and a fort almost made neere the Towne, a slight skirmish towards night, wherein Sir *Francis Barklies* Ancient, and some other were hurt: In the evening the rebels Horse were descried about two miles off, and (after supper) all the Army drawn into Armes, upon notice (given us by the skout) that the rebels were discovered,

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## CHAP. XIX.

*A briefe report of the good service done by Sir Richard Levison, upon the Spanish fleete at Castle-haven. A Letter from Don Iuan de Aquila to Tyrone and Odonnell. A Letter from Don Iuan to Captaine Iuan de Albornes y Andrada. A Letter from Odonnell Osulevan Beare to the King of Spaine.*

**THIS** night late, Sir *Richard Levison* returned into the harbour of Kinsale, and the next day came to the Lord Deputie, unto whom hee imparted, that the sixth day, with the Warrespit, the Defiance, the



Swiftsure, the Marlin, one Merchant, and a Carvill, he arrived at Castle-haven about ten of the clock in the forenoone, before foure a clock the same day, one ship of the Enemy was suncke, the Spanish Admirall with nine foote water in hold droue to the shore upon the rocks, the Viceadmirall with two others droue likewise a ground, most of the Spaniards quitting their ships; the seventh of December the wind being extreamely at South-east, hee rode still at Castle-haven, the night following, with wind at West South-west, hee warped out with the ships, the eighth at night hee returned as aforesaid.

Since wee are informed by the Lord *Coursie*, that they are all sunck but one ship, and great harme done both to their provisions and men.

The Spaniards after their comming to Castle-haven, understanding the Queenes fleete was at Kinsale, expecting their comming thither, to make themselues as strong as they could, landed five Peeces of Ordnance which they planted close by the water side for the securing the harbour; but Sir *Richard Levison* did so ply the shipping, that hee suncke and driue a shore as is related, and having effected as much as might be done by Sea, was willing to haue left the harbour and returne to Kinsale; but the wind being contrary, hee was not able to get forth, but was forced to ride foure and twentie houres within the play of those five Peeces of Ordnance, and received in that time aboue



three hundred shot, through Hulke, Mast and Tackle being by no industry able to avoid it, untill some calmer weather came, where by the helpe of some warpes layed forth by their boats, not without great danger and some losse, hee came to set saile and returned for Kinsale. All the shot were made particularly at his ship, except some few at a Pinnacle of the Queenes, wherein Captaine *Flemming* was Commander.

All the time spent upon the nine ten and eleaven, was in erecting the two forts formerly resolved upon, also in casting up of trenches, betweene the Earle of Thomonds quarter, and the said forts, being more then thirtie score in length, and making of trenches neere to the Lord Deputies Campe: The Spaniards as well to interrupt, as to view our workes, made certaine light sallies, but they were easily beaten backe without any hurt on our side.

The twelfth, the Enemy sallied againe, but altogether fruitlesse.

The thirteenth, the weather fell out to be extreame fowle and stormy; and because of *Tyrones* drawing neere with all his forces, it was thought meet, not to attempt any thing of great moment, more then the removing of some Peeces of Ordnance, to a new platforme made on the West side of the Towne close unto it, to play upon the Castles, which might most



hinder our workes, when wee should resolve to make a breach.

The fourteenth fowle weather, wherein nothing was performed.

The fifteenth, our Artillery on the West side of the Towne did much annoy the enemy, in breaking downe the houses, wherein many were slaine.

The sixteenth, the Ordnance played into the Towne, as the day before.

The seventeenth, fowle and stormy weather; neverthelesse at night the Enemy sallied, and brake downe a new platforme which wee had made.

The eighteenth the Cannon (as in former dayes) played into the Towne, and annoyed the Enemy very much: And the same day, a Letter was intercepted, written from *Don Iohn* to *Tyrone* and *Odonnell*, which is here inserted: And also a Letter to Captaine *Iuan de Albornoz y Andrada*, both which were thus translated.

*A Letter from Don Iuan de Aquila,  
to Tyrone and Odonnell.*

*I Was confident your Excellencies would have come upon Don Richardo his going unto you, because hee had order from you to say that upon the Spanyards joyning with you, (from Castle-haven) you would doe*



*mee that favour : I beseech you so to doe, with as much celeritie, and as well furnished as you possibly may : for I doe assure you, the enemies are wearied, and but few, and that they cannot furnish (with Guards) the third part of their Trenches, which shall little availe them, their first fury resisted, all is ended. In what manner your Excellencies will come on, is better known to you there, then unto me here ; I will giue them enough to doe this way, being ever attending to giue the blow in all that I can, and with some good resolution, that your Excellencies fighting as you are accustomed, I hope in God the victorie shal be ours, for that the cause is his : I doe as much desire the victory for the interest which your Excellencies haue in it, as for my owne : There is nothing now to be done, but that you would bring up your Troupes, come well appoynted, and in close Order, and being once mingled with the enemies, their Forts will doe them as much harme as us. I salute Don Ricardo, the Lord preserue your Excellencies. From Kinsale the 28. of December. 1601.*

*Though you are not well prepared, yet I beseech your Excellencies to hasten towards the enemy, for it imports much : I thinke it needfull to bee all at once on horseback : the greater haste you make, it is so much the better.*

Don Iuan de Aquila.



*A Letter from Don Iuan to Captaine  
Iuan de Albornos y Andrada*

**I** Was extreame glad of your Letter, and of the health of your person; when Don Ricardo went, hee brought for resolution, that when the Earles had met with the Spanyards, they would come; the ill passage for Messengers is the cause that you haue had no Letters from me: Hasten their comming, they know there (better then wee doe) the wayes and the newes: I am ever in readinesse; the enemies are few, and wearied, and by good resolution (from thence) their Trenches shall not availe them, nor can they maintaine so much ground as they lodge in: I will giue them their handsfull from the Towne, and their first furie resisted all is ended. Commend mee to Don Ricardo, and to Captaine Rius de Velasco, to whom I write not, because the Messenger should not carry too great a Pacquet. I haue written to the Earles to hasten hither before the enemies haue bettered their Quarter, it would profit much, and wee being once mingled with them, their Forts will doe them as much hurt as vs: From Kinsale the eight and twentieth of December. 1601.

Don Iuan de Aquila.

The nineteenth by reason of stormie and foule weather, nothing on either side was performed; but the same day *Donnell Osulevan Beare*, in thankfulnessse to the King of Spaine, and to endeare himselfe the



more into his favour, wrote unto him this ensuing Letter, the originall was in Irish, and thus translated : but the Reader may understand, that it was long afterward before it came to the Lord Presidents hands, yet here inserted in regard of the date thereof.

A Letter from *Donnell Osulevan Beare*  
unto the King of Spaine.

**I**T hath beene ever, most mighty and renowned Prince, and most gracious Catholike King, from time to time, manifestly proued by daily experience among vs the Irish, that there is nothing worketh more forcibly in our hearts, to winne, and to draw our loue and affection, then naturall inclination to our Progeny and Offspring, and the memoriall of the friendship, which sticketh still in our minds; chiefly the same being renewed, cherished and kept in use by mutuall affection, and by shewing like friendship to vs also; Wee the meere Irish long sithence deriving our roote and originall, from the famous and most noble race of the Spaniards: Viz. from Milecius sonne to Bile, sonne to Breogwin, and from Lwighe, sonne to Lythy, sonne to Breogwin, by the testimony of our old ancient bookes of antiquities, our Petigrees, our Histories, and our Cronicles: Though there were no other matter, wee came not as naturall branches of the famous tree, whereof we grew, but beare a hearty loue, and a naturall affection, and intire inclination



of our hearts and minds, to our ancient most loving kinsfolkes, and the most noble race whereof wee descended: Besides this (my Sovereaigne) such is the abundance of your goodnesse, and the bounty or greatnesse of your liberality, now every way undeserved of our parts, as tokens of loue and affection by your Majestie shewed unto vs, that it is not fit nor seemely for vs, but to bestow our persons, our men, and our goods, in the service of a Prince, that dealeth so graciously with vs, that sendeth forces of men, great treasure, victuals and munition for our aide, against our Enemies, that seeke to overwhelme and extinguish the Catholike faith diabolically, put to death our Chiefetaines tyrannously, coveting our Lands and Livings unlawfully: For the foresaid considerations, and for many other commendable causes me moving: I bequeath, and offer in humblenesse of mind, and with all my heart, my owne person with all my forces, perpetually to serue your Majestie, not only in Ireland, but in any other place, where it shall please your Highnesse: I commit also my Wife, my Children, my Mannors, Townes, Countrey, and Lands, and my Haven of Dunboy, called Biara-haven (next under God) to the protection, keeping and defence, or Commericke of your Majestie, to be and remaine in your hands, and at your disposition: Also at your pleasure bee it (my Liege Lord) to send defence and strong keeping of the haven of Dunboy, first for your selfe (my Sovereaigne) to receiue your ships; and for mee also as your loving servant, so that the Queene



*of Englands ships may not possesse the same before you, while I follow the warres in your Highnesse behalfe: I pray Almighty God, to giue your Majestie along life, health of body and soule, with increase of grace and prosperity: So I betake you to the keeping of God: From the Campe neere Kinsale the nine and twentieth of December, 1601, Stilo Novo.*

*Your most dutifull loving Servant*

*Donnell Osulevan Beare.*

This morning being faire, the Ordnance played oftner, and brake downe a good part of the wall; and to the end wee might proceed the more roundly, (if *Tyrones* force came not the sooner upon us) another great Trench was made beneath the Platforme; to hinder which, the Enemies made very many shott, but all would not serue: for by the next morning that worke was brought to good perfection, though the night fell out stormie, with great abundance of thunder and lightning, to the wonder of all men, considering the season of the yeare. This night came certaine Intelligence, that *Tyrone* would be the next night within a mile and halfe of us.



## CHAP. XX.

*Tyrone with his Armie approached within view of our Campe, but could not bee provoked to fight. The enemy sallyed out of the towne. The Irish Army as before present themselves. The Enemy from the towne make another sally. Intelligence of the Enemies designs brought to Captaine Taffe.*

**T**Owards night *Tyrone* shewed himselfe with the most part of his Horse and Foot, upon a hill betweene our campe and Corke, about a mile from us, and on the other side of the hill encamped that night, where hee had a Fastnesse of wood and water.

Two Regiments of our Foot, and some Horse being drawn out of our Campe, made towards them; and when they saw our men resolved to goe forwards, they fell backe towards the place where they encamped. This night the Spanyards sallyed againe, and gaue upon a new Trench made a little beneath our Campe, but were the sooner repelled, because that night wee kept very strong Guards, and every man was in a readinesse to bee in Armes, by reason of *Tyrones* being so neere unto us.

*Tyrones* Horse and Foot kept still in sight in the place where they shewed themselves the day before, and many Intelligences affirmed unto us, that they had a purpose to force our Campes. That night some of their Horse, and five hundred of their Foot were discovered searching out a good way to the Towne,



which was not made known unto us untill the next day. The Spanyards sallyed this night hotly, and gaue upon a Trench, so as a Sergeant that had the guard thereof, quit it: But Sir *Christopher Saint-Laurence* comming to his second, beat them backe before they did any great hurt.

Our Artillery still played upon the Towne, (as it had done all that while) that they might see wee went on with our businesse, as if we cared not for *Tyrones* comming; but it was withall carried on in such a fashion, as wee had no meaning to make a Breach, because we thought it not fit to offer to enter, and so put all in a hazard, untill wee might better discover what *Tyrone* meant to doe, whose strength was assured to bee very great, and wee found by Letters of *Don Iohns* (which wee had newly intercepted) that hee had advised *Tyrone* to set upon our Campes, telling him that it could not bee chosen, but our men were much decayed by the winters siege, and so that wee could hardly be able to mainetaine so much ground (as wee had taken) when our strength was greater, if we were well put too, on the one side by them, and on the other side by him, which hee would not faile for his part to doe soundly.

*Tyrone* accompanied with *Odonnell*, *Orwrke*, *Mac Guire*, *Mac Maghon*, *Randell Mac Sorly*, *Redmond Burke*, *O Conner Sligoes* brothers, and Captaine *Tirrell*; with the choise force, and in effect all the



Rebels of Ireland being drawn into Mounster, and joyned with Spaniards that landed at Castle-haven, who brought to *Tyrones* Campe sixe Ensignes of Spaniards, and the greatest part of the Irish of Mounster, who being revolted, were joyned with them; and entertayned into the Kings pay in severall Companies, and under their owne Lords, resolved to releue the Towne of Kinsale, and to that purpose sate downe the one and twentieth of December, a mile and a halfe from the Towne, betweene the English Campe and Corke, and on that side of the Army, kept from them all passages and meanes for forage, the other side, over the River of Ownybuoy, being wholly at their disposition, by reason of the generall revolt of those parts, it seemed they were drawn so farre by the importunity of *Don Iuan de Aquila*, as wee perceived by some of his Letters intercepted, wherein hee did intimate his owne necessitie, their promise to succour him, and the facility of the Enterprise; our Armie being weake in numbers, and tired (as hee termed us) with assurance from himselfe, that whensoever hee should advance to our Quarter, he would giue the blow soundly from the Towne, during the aboad of the Rebels in that place, wee had continuall intelligence of their purpose to giue Alarmes from their party, and sallies from the Towne, but to little other effect then to weary our men, by keeping them continually in Armes; the weather being extreame tempestuous, cold and wet; on the three and twentieth



of December, late in the night, Captaine *Taffe* enformed the Lord Deputie, that one of the Rebels sent him word (and confirmed it by a solemne oath) to the bearer, that the resolution of the Rebels was either that night, or betweene that and the next, to enterprize their uttermost for the releefe of the Towne, with some particulars, in what sort they intended to giue upon our Campe. The intelligence which Captaine *Taffe* had was upon this occasion.

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## CHAP. XXI.

*The means whereby Captaine Taffe had his Intelligence. The Battell of Kinsale, wherein the Rebels were overthrown. The Lord President directed by the Lord Deputie to guard the Campe, against any attempt to be made by the Spaniards. A glorious Victorie. An old Irish Prophecie proved true. Two sallies made by the Spaniards.*

**T**Vesday the two and twentieth of December, *Brian Mac Hugh Oge Mac Maghon*, a principall Commander in the Irish Army, whose eldest sonne *Brian* had many yeares before been a Page in ENGLAND with the Lord President, sent a Boy unto Captaine *William Taffe*, praying him to speake unto the Lord President to bestow upon him a bottle of *Aquavite*, which the President for old acquaintance sent unto him; the next night being the three and twentieth, by the same Messenger hee sent him a Letter, praying him to recommend his Loue vnto



the President, thanks for his *Aquavitæ*, and to wish him the next night following to stand well upon his Guard, for himselfe was at the Councell, wherein it was resolved, that on the night aforesaid, (towards the breake of day) the Lord Deputies Campe would bee assaulted, both by *Tyrones* Armie, (which lay at their backes) and by the Spanyards from the Towne, who upon the first Allarme would bee in a readinesse to salley: Whereupon the Lord Deputie gaue order to strengthen the ordinary Guards, to put the rest of the Armie in a readinesse, but not into Armes, that about the falling of the Moone, the Regiment volant, (commanded by Sir *Henrie Power*, and appoynted onley to answeere the first occasion, without doing any other duties) should draw out beyond the West part of the Campe, and there to stand in Armes, not farre from the maine guard of Horse: A little before the breake of the day, the Lord President went to the Lord Deputies house, and as they two and the Marshall were in Councell, one of the Lord Presidents horsemen came to the doore, and calling upon him said, My Lord, it is time to arme, for the enemy is neere unto the Campe; and immediately Sir *Richard Greame*, who had the guard of Horse that night, sent word to the Lord Deputie, that the Scouts had discovered the Rebells Matches in great numbers; whereupon the Lord Deputie caused the Armie to draw presently into Armes, sent a Corporall of the field, to cause the like to be done in the Earle of *Thomonds* quarter,



and that from thence they should draw out three hundred choise men, between that quarter and the Fort, built upon the West hill, neere a Barricado made (crosse a high way) to stop the Enemies suddaine passage in the night, and himselfe accompanied with the President, and the Marshall advanced forwards towards the scout, and having given direction to Sir *Henry Davers* (who commanded the Horse under the Marshall) for the ordering of the Troopes, sent the Marshall to take view of the Enemy, who brought him word, that Horse and Foote of theirs were advanced; whereupon the Lord Deputie with Sir *Oliver Lambert* rid to view a peece of ground, between that and the Towne, which had on the back of it a Trench, drawen from the Earle of Thomonds quarter to the West fort: on the front a boggish Glyn, and passable with Horse onely at one ford, which before hee had intrenched: the ground whereupon the Enemy must haue drawen in grosse, to force the passage, was flankerd from the Earles quarter by the Cannon; it was resolved to make that ground good, being of greater advantage for Horse and Foote, both to bee imbattled, and to fight: upon view whereof the Lord Deputie sent the Marshall word, that on that place he was resolved to giue the Enemy battaile, and sent the Sergeant Major (Sir *Iohn Barkley*) to draw out Sir *Henry Folliots*, and Sir *Oliver Saint-Iohns* Regiments to that place: *O Campo* (that commanded all the Spa-



niards that came last out of Spaine) desired *Tyrone* that hee might imbattle his men, and presently giue on, to joyne that way with *Don Iuan*, for their purpose was at that time, by that meanes to haue put into the Towne all the Spaniards with *Tirrell*, and eight hundred of their chiefe men, and the next night from the Towne, and their Army to haue forced both our quarters, of the successe whereof they were so confident, that they reckoned us already theirs, and were in contention, whose prisoners the Lord Deputie should bee, and whose the President, and so of the rest: But *Tyrone* (discovering the Marshall, and Sir *Henry Davers* to bee advanced with all the Horse, and Sir *Henry Powers* squadron of Foote) retired beyond a ford at the foote of that hill, with purpose (as he fained) till his whole Army were drawn more close; instantly the Marshall sent the Lord Deputie word by Sir *Francis Rush*, that the Enemy retired in some disorder; whereupon the Lord Deputie came up unto him, and gaue order that all the Foote should follow; when we were advanced to the Ford (but our Foote not wholly come to us) the Enemy drew off in three great bodies of foot, and all their horse in the reare: The Lord Deputie asked of some that understood the Countrey, whether beyond that ford, there were neere any ground of strength for the Enemy to make advantage of; but being answered that there was none, but a faire Champion, he drew after the Enemy, and then desired the Lord President



to returne from thence, and secure the Campe, and attend the sallies of *Don Iuan*, which hee did, with whom the Lord Deputie sent the Earle of Thomonds Horse, Sir *Anthony Cookes*, and Sir *Oliver Lamberts*, and only tooke with him betweene three or foure hundred Horse, and under twelue hundred Foote, but being drawen out some mile farther, we might perceiue the Enemy to stand firme, upon a ground of very good advantage for them, having a bog betweene us, and a deepe ford to passe, and in all appearance with a resolution to fight: the Marshall being advanced with the Horse neere unto the Ford, sent unto the Lord Deputie, that hee perceived the Enemy in some disorder; and that if hee would giue him leaue to charge, hee hoped to giue a very good account of it; the Lord Deputie left it to his discretion, to doe as he should find present occasion, out of the disposition of the Enemy; whereupon the Earle of Clanrickard that was with the Marshall, importuned him exceedingly to fight, and the Lord Deputie sent to draw up the Foote (with all expedition) close together, who marched as fast as it was possible for them to keepe their orders; the Marshall assoone as a wing of the Foote of the Vaunt-guard was come up unto him, and Sir *Henry Power* with his Regiment drawen over the Ford, advanced with some hundred Horse, accompanied with the Earle of Clanrickard, and gaue occasion of skirmish upon the bog side, with some hundred hargubisheers; the Enemy thereupon put out some of their loose



shot from their battle, and entertayned the fight: their three battalions standing firme on the other side of the bog, at the first our shot were put close to the Horse, but with a second they beat the Enemies loose shot into their battle; and withall the Marshall, with the Earle of Clanrickard, and Sir *Richard Greame*, offered a charge on a battle of one thousand Foote, and finding them to stand firme, wheeled a little about: by this time Sir *William Godolphin* with the Lord Deputies Horse, and Captaine *Mynshall* with the Lord Presidents Horse, (who were appointed to keepe still in grosse, to answer all accidents) was come up, and Sir *Iohn Barkley*, with two of our three bodies of Foote: whereupon the Marshall with the Earle of Clanrickard, vnited themselues with Sir *Henry Davers*, Captaine *Taffe* and Captaine *Fleming*, charged againe the Horse, and the reare of the same battle, who presently thereupon, both Horse and Foote fell into disorder and brake.

All this while the Vantgard of the Enemies in which was *Terrill*, and all the Spaniards, stood firme upon a bog on the right hand, unto whom, within Calievers shot the Lord Deputie had drawen up our Reare upon a little hill, and willed them to stand firme, till they received direction from him: but perceiving the grosse drawing betweene our men that were following the execution, and the other Bodies of foot, he drew up that squadron, (commanded by



Captaine *Roe*) to charge them in Flanck; whereupon they presently drew off, and in a great grosse marched to the top of the next hill, and there (for a little time) made a stand; the Reare of the Enemy being in their retreat, the Van went off with few slaine, but with the losse of many of their Armes, their Battell (being the greatest Body) was put all to the sword, and not aboue some sixtie escaped: The Vant-guard who went last off, were broken on the top of the hill; the Irish for the most part quit the Spanyards, who making a stand, were broken by the Lord Deputies Troopes, and most of them killed, *O Campo* the chiefe Commaunder taken prisoner by the Cornet, *Iohn Pykman*, two Captaines 7. Alferoes, and 40. Souldiers taken prisoners by such as followed the execution, which continued a mile & a halfe, and left there, onely tyred with killing: There were of the Irish rebels twelue hundred dead bodies left in the place, and as we heard from themselues, about eight hundred hurt, whereof many of them dyed that night: they lost aboue two thousand Armes, their Powder, Drummes, and nine Ensignes, which was more than ever they had together before; of Captaines, (besides other men of marke) foureteene were slaine, and on our side onely Sir *Richard Greames* Cornett was killed, Sir *Henry Davers* hurt with a sword slightly, Sir *William Godolphin* a little rased on the thigh with a Halbert, Captaine *Crofts* the Scout-Master with a shot in the backe, and not aboue fiue or sixe com-



mon Souldiers hurt, many of our horses killed, and more hurt : The Earle of *Clanricard* had many faire escapes, being shot through his Garments, and no man did bloody his sword more than his Lordship did that day, and would not suffer any man to take any of the Irish prisoners, but bade them kill the Rebels. After the Retreit was sounded, the Lord Deputie did giue the Order of Knighthood to the Earle of *Clanricard*, in the field in the midst of the dead bodies, and returning backe to the Campe, drew out the whole Armie, and gaue God thanks for this Victorie with their prayers ; At the ending whereof, and a volley of shott for joy discharged, *Don Iuan* (who was attentive to heare of the Spaniards approach) hearing the volley, and conceiving that his Ayds were in fight with us, made a salley out of the Towne ; but when hee perceived the Spanish Colours to be carried by Englishmen in triumph, he made a speedy retreit. The Enemies Armie, as *Alonso de o Campo* doth assure us, was six thousand Foote, and fiae hundred Horse ; there were some of the Irish taken Prisoners, that offered great ransomes, but presently upon their bringing to the Campe, they were hanged.

Although no man is lesse credulous than myselfe is of idle Propheties, the most whereof are coyned after things are done, yet I make bold to relate this which succeeds, for long time before the thing I speake of was brought to light : myselfe was an eye



witnesse when it was reported; in concealing it I should wrong the trueth, which makes mee bold to remember it: Many times I did heare the Earle of *Thomond* tell the Lord President, that in an old Booke of Irish prophesies which hee had seene, it was reported, that towards the latter dayes there should bee a battell fought betweene the English and the Irish, in a place which the Booke nameth, neere unto Kinsale. The Earle of *Thomond* comming out of England, and landing first at Castlehaven, and after at Kinsale, as aforesaid: in the time of the siege, myselfe and divers others, heard him again report the Prophesie to the President, and named the place where (according to the Prophesie) the field should bee fought: the day whereupon the victorie was obtained, the Lord President and the Earle rode out to see the dead bodies of the vanquished, and the President asked some that were there present, by what name that ground was called; they not knowing to what end hee did demand it, told him the true name thereof, which was the same which the Earle so often before had reported to the President. I beseech the reader to belieue mee, for I deliver nothing but trueth: but as one Swallow makes no Summer, so shall not this one true Prophesie increase my credulitie in old Predictions of that kinde.

The five and twentieth in the afternoone the Spaniards made a sally, but they were enforced to retreat into the Towne; at nine in the night they sal-



lyed againe to hinder our workes in the Trenches, the skirmish continued two houres, in the end they were repulsed : on our side the Ensignes of Captaine *Roper* and Captaine *Ghest* were hurt; what harme they received, we know not.

The sixe and twentieth in the night they gaue againe upon our Trenches, and enforced a Lieutenant, (with his Guard) to quit them; and from thence they went to a little Fort of ours on the west side of the Towne: but there they found so good resistance, as they were enforced to retreat with the losse of foure men slaine, and eight hurt.

The seven and twentieth nothing was done, and that whole day was (by the Lord Deputie, the Lord President, and the rest of the Councell then in the Campe) spent in making of Dispatches into ENGLAND.

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## CHAPTER XXII.

*Zubiaur arrived at Castlehaven, and immediately returned. ODonnell, Redmond Burke, &c. imbarqued for Spaine. The names of such of the Irish as fled into Spaine. The losse which the Rebels had in passing through Mounster, after the battell of Kinsale.*

THE eight and twentieth, intelligence was brought to the Lord President, who related it to the Lord Deputy, that *Pedro Zubiaur*, who was (as is said) a



great Commander in the Spanish fleete that came to Kinsale, was lately landed at Castlehaven, and hearing of *Tyrone's* overthrow, hee made no stay but set sail for Spaine, carrying with him *O Donnell*, *Redmond Burke*, *Hugh Mostian*, with others of their traine, whose names I will omit; but for the better satisfaction of the Reader I thinke it meet, to set downe the names of sundry other Mounster men, who not long after fled into Spaine, whose names ensue.

*A List of the Names of such of the Irish as have shipped themselves for Spaine out of Mounster, besides divers others which attended these, and whose names are not knowen, all which set saile since December, 1601.*

From Castlehaven in December, 1601.

*Odonnell.*  
*Redmond Burke.* } and their traine.  
*Hugh Mostian.* }

In a Pinnace of advice that brought the Kings Letters, which were intercepted by the President in February, 1601.

*Osulevan Beares sonnes*, and with him one  
*Trant* of Dingle.

*Donnell*, Sonne to Sir *Finnin Odrischall*.



From *Ardea* in a *Patache* the seventh of Iune, 1602.

*Donoghe*, Bastard Brother to *Florence Mac Cartie*.  
*Donoghe Mac Maghon Obrien Mac Enaspicke*.  
*Brian Okelly*.

From Kinsale with *Don Iuan de Aquila*, in March,  
 1601.

*Teg Mac Donnell ne Contie*.

*William Mac Shane*, the *Seneschals Sonne* of *Imo-*  
*killie*.

*Dermond Mac Conoghor Odrischall* of Castle-  
 haven, together with his Brother and Sonnes.

*Thomas Omoroghoe* alias *Thomas Keughe Mac*  
*Edmond* of Muskry.

*Richard Meaghe*, Sonne and Heire to *Iames*  
*Meaghe* of Kinsale.

*Dominicke White* of Kinsale, a Carpenters Sonne.

*Melaghlen Moore* of Kinsale, borne in Connaght.

*Conoghor Omonowe* of Kinsale, and there borne,

*Edmond Mac Shane* of Kinsale.

*Dermond Mac Shane* of Kinsale.

*Donoghe Deasoghe* of Kinsale,

*Andrew Butler* a kerne

borne at Galway.

*William Butler* a kerne

} Brothers

*Maghan Mac Donogh Olery* under *Barry Oge*.

*Dermond Mac Owen*.

*David fits Garret Barry*, and his wife and children  
 dwelling at Rincorran.



- Garrot Barry*  
*Nicholas Barry*  
*Iohn Barry*  
*David oge Barry* } sonnes to *David fits Garrot*  
 aforesaid.  
*William Hartilige* of Rincorran.  
*Iohn Hartilige*, son to *William* aforesaid.  
*Dermond oge Osulevan* of Rincorran.  
*Dermond Ogriffien* of Rincorran.  
*Iohn Mac Donell Kedie*  
 of Rincorran, } Brothers.  
*Dermond Mac Donell Kedie*, }  
*Maurice Roch fits Iohn* of Ellin- }  
 finchtowne in Kinalecy, } Brothers.  
*Iohn fits Iohn Roche*.  
*Conoghor Mag Donogh* of Rathmore in Kinalecy.  
*Donogh Gowe*, a Connaght man, dwelling at Rath-  
 more in Kinalecy.  
*Hugo Ohellie*, a Connaght man.  
*Donogh Moel mac Enessis*, *Dermond*  
*Moel mac Carties* man,  
*Owen mac Donogh mac Finnin Cartie* of  
 Curowrane, } Brothers.  
*Donel oge Mac Donel Carty*, brother to }  
*Don Carlos* slaine at Kinsale. }  
*Finnin oge Cartie*, an other brother to }  
*Don Carlos*. }  
*Conogher o Cullenan* of Rathmore in Kinalley.  
*Donell Ogriffien* of the same.  
*William mac Cormock*, a Connaght man.  
*Dermod mac Shane*, a Connaght man.



*Edmond Olavien,*  
*William Mac Ricard,* } all Connaght men.  
*Cormocke Olanahie,*  
*Dermond Deaserghie,* a Connaght man.  
*Dermond Olongie* of Muskry.  
*Richard Cogan* fits *Philip* of Barnehelly in Kerry-  
 wherie.

*Finin Mac Donoghe Cartie,* a Cosen to *Don Carlos.*  
*Dermond Mac Finin Cartie,* of Skeaghe in  
 Carbry.

*Donnell Mac Finin Cartie* of the same.  
*Donnell Mac Teg Cartie* of the same.  
*David Skemnehan* of Rincorran.  
*Iohn Mac Dermond Mac Shane,* a Connaght man.  
*Cormocke* the Lord Presidents Footeman, of the  
*Birnes* in Leinster.

*William Mac Shane* of Rathmore, in the County  
 of Limerick.

*Donnell Mac Shane O Cullenan* of Rathmore in  
 Kinaley.

*Iohn Oge Olenssie,* a Connaght man.  
*Teg Welsh,* alias *Teg Brenaghe.*  
*Cormocke Mac Donoghe ne Mroen* }  
*Oriardane.* }  
*Dermond Mac Donoghe ne Mroen* } of Muskry,  
*Oriardane.* } brothers.  
*Owen Mac Donoghe ne Mroen* }  
*Oriardane.* }

*Donnell Mac Shane Oriardane* of Muskry.  
*Iohn Feild* fits *Maurice* of Tracten Abbie.



*John Roe Mac William*, of the County of Limericke.

*Donnell O Sissuane* of Kinsale.

*Teg O Sissuane*, Sonne to *Donnell* aforesaid.

*Hugo Lacy*.

*Walter Ley* of Kilkenny. } These came out of Spaine  
*Richard Stacboll*. } with *Don Iuan*, and re-  
 One Master *Fits Iames* } turned with him.  
 a Pensioner. }

From Ardea with *Connor Odrischall* and *Archer*,  
 the seventh of July, 1602.

*Conner Odrischall*, eldest Sonne to Sir *Finin Odrischall*.

*Iames Archer* Iesuite.

*Collie Mac Swine Mac Edmond*, of the *Mac Swines* of Carbry, his Sonne was hanged at Donboy in Iune, 1602.

*Cormocke Mac Donoghe*, vic' *Donnell Rabaghe* one of the *Carties*.

*Donoghe Mac Conner*, of Castlehaven,  
 and owner of it. }

*Donnell Mac Connor*, vic' *Dermond* } brothers.  
*Odrischall*. }

*Mac Con Mac Iffie Odrischall*. }

*Teg Mac Iffie Odrischall*. } Brothers.

*Morriertaghe Mac Iffie Odrischall*. }

*Dermond Mac Conner* of Kilkoe, } of the *Carties*,  
*Dermond Oge* of the same, } brothers.



*Shane Mac Dermond Iholonghane* of Bantrie.

*Shane Mac Gillicuddie Iholoughane* of Beare.

*Teg Oge ne Mockloghe.* } of the Carties,  
*Owen Mac Teg ne Mockloghe.* } brothers.

*Finnin mac Browne* of the Odrischals.

*Conner Omaghon* of Lemcon, one of the Omaghons of Ivagh.

One of the sonnes of *Gilliduff* of Cleere, and one of the Odrischals.

*Dermond Oge mac Dermond Odrischall.*

*Conner mac Finnin Roe* of Bonnanie in Bantrie.

*Tirlogh* sonne to *Teg Reugh mac Maghon* of Thomond, who slew his Father when Donboy was besieged, his lands her Majestie hath given to the Earle of Thomonds brother.

*Dowaltagh mac Morogh Icorromanie*, foster-brother to Odonnell.

*Elline ny Donogh*, late wife to *Dermond Moel mac Cartie*, brother to *Florence*.

*Finnin Kearigh* of the Fioll, one of the Carties.

*Dermond mac Shannaganie*, a Rimer.

*Gilliduff*, a Thomond man.

Two Souldiers of Thomond which served *Conner Odrischall*.

*David mac Shane* of the Dingle, servant to *Iames Archer* the Iesuite.

*Shane mac Dermond*, vic' *Donogh Oge o Cullenan*, Archers boy.

*Conner Oge Odrischall*, heire to *Conner Sir Finnins* sonne, nine yeares of age.



*Thomas*, son and heire to the Knight of the Valley, 14 yeares old.

*Donnell Omaghon*, a Marriner that came in company with *Owen mac Eggan*.

Fiue Frenchmen that were taken by *Teg Reughe*, when they tooke the Ship and Merchant of Gallway.

The nine and twentieth, the Lord Deputy, and the Lord President (from sundry persons, and divers wayes) were advertised, that *Tyrone* in passing the broad water, lost many of his Carriages, and one hundred and fortie of his men drowned; those which tooke their way through Connologh, (for they brake into many parts) had also losse of men and Carriages in the river of May, and the like at the Abbey of Ownhy in *Omulrians* Countrey; so as they lost of all sorts aboue two hundred: The Footmen wearied in the flight, (to goe the lighter) cast away their Armes, and their hurt men (carried upon weake and tyred garrans) were by their fellowes left upon the way, where they dyed; their tyred horses were slaine by their Masters, and the Countrey Inhabitants (for spoyles sake) upon advantages would not spare to take some of their heads, but not in that proportion as they might haue done, if they had beene sound Subjects. Lastly, it was reported, (but how true it is I am somewhat doubtfull) that *Tyrone* himselfe, and *Mac Mahon* were both hurt in the battell, and carryed away on Litters. To conclude, never men were more dismayed with extremitie of feare, than these light-footed Traytors were.



## CHAP. XXIII.

*A Parley desired by Don Iuan, and granted by the Lord Deputie. Don Iuan his Propositions, with their Answeres, and his Reply. The Reasons which mooved the Lord Deputie and Councell to yeeld to a Composition. The Articles of the Composition.*

**T**HE last of December *Don Iuan* offered a parley, sending the Drum Major out of the Towne, with a sealed Letter to the Lord Deputie, by an Alfeeres, by which he required (as by the Copie thereof conveyed in the dispatch by Sir *Richard Morison* into *England* may appeare) that some Gentleman of speciall trust and sufficiencie, might bee sent into the Towne from his Lordship to conferre with him, whom he would acquaint with such conditions as hee then stood upon; which being granted by his Lordship, Sir *William Godolphin* was employed in that negotiation; which in what sort it was carried, because it importeth much, in respect of many particularities of speciall moment to bee considered; it is thought necessary it should bee here more largely delivered, his first conference with Sir *William Godolphin* tendeth to this: That having found the Lord Deputie (whom he termeth the Viceroy) although a sharpe and powerfull *Opposito*, yet an honourable Enemy, and the Irish not onely weake and barbarous, but (as hee feared) perfidious friends, hee was so farre in his affection reconciled to the one, and distasted with the other, as did invite him to make an overture of such a composition,



as might bee safe and profitable for the State of England, with lesse prejudice to the Crowne of Spaine, by delivering into the Viceroyes power the Towne of Kinsale, with all other places in Ireland, held by the Spanish, so as they might depart upon honourable termes, fitting such men of warre, as are not by necessitie enforced to receiue conditions, but willingly enduced for just respects, to disengage themselues, and to relinquish a people, by whom their King and Master had beene so notoriously abused, if not betrayed: That if the Viceroy liked to entertaine further parly touching this poynt, he would first be pleased to understand them rightly, and to make his propositions such, as might bee sutable to men thoroughly resolved, rather to bury themselues aliue, and to endure a thousand deaths, then that to giue way to one Article of accord, that should tast of basenes or dishonour, being so confident of their present strength, and the Royall second of Spaine, that they should make no doubt of yeelding good account of themselues, and their interest in this kingdome: But that a just disdain, and spleene conceived against the nation, dissuaded them from being further engaged for it, then of force they must: Sir *William Godolphin* being commanded by the Lord Deputie onely to receiue *Don Iuans* propositions and demands, having made his Lordship and Councell this relation, was by them returned with the Answer following. That howbeit the Lord Deputie having lately defeated their succours, did so well understand



his owne strength and their weaknesse, as made him nothing doubt of forcing them within a very short time, whom hee did know to bee pressed with irresistible difficulties, how much soever they laboured to cover and conceale the same : Yet knowing that her sacred Majestie, out of her gracious and mercifull disposition, would esteeme the glory of her victory to be blemished by a voluntary effusion, and an obstinate expence of Christian blood, was content to entertaine this offer of agreement, so as it might bee concluded under such honourable articles of her Highnesse, as the advantage shee had against them gaue reason to demand, being the same, which are sent with this dispatch Signed by *Don Iuan*, the leaving of his Treasure, Munition, Artillery, and the Queenes naturall Subjects to her disposition onely excepted : All which poynts he did peremptorily refuse, with constant asseveration, that both hee and all his would rather endure the last of misery, then bee found guilty of so fowle a treason, against the honour of his Prince, and the reputation of his profession, though hee should find himselfe unable to subsist, much more now, when he might not only hope to sustaine the burthen of the warre for a time, but with patience and constancie in the end to overcome it : That hee tooke it so ill, to be understood in having Articles of that nature propounded unto him, as were they but once againe remembred in the capitulation, the Viceroy should from henceforth use the advantage of his sword, and not the benefit of his former offers ; adding that the



Viceroy might rather thinke to haue made a good and profitable purchase, for the crowne of England, if with expence of two hundred thousand Duckets, hee had procured *Don Iuan* to quit his interest and footing, but in *Baltimore*, to say nothing of *Kinsale*, *Castlehaven*, and *Beerehaven*; for (said hee) suppose that all we (with the rest of our places here) had perished, yet would that *Pen-Insula* (being strong in its owne nature) bettered by our art and industry, provided (as it is) of victuals, munition, and of good Artillery, preserue unto the King of Spaine, a safe and commodious port for the arrivall of his fleete, and bee able to maintaine it selfe against a land Army of ten thousand, untill Spaine (being so deeply engaged) did in honour releue them, which would draw on a more powerfull invasion then the first, being undertaken upon false grounds, at the instance of a base and barbarous people, who in discovering their weaknesse, and want of power, haue armed the King my master to rely upon his owne strength, being tied in honour to releue his people that are ingaged, and to cancell the memory of our former disaster: But this was spoken (said he) in case the Viceroy were able to force this Towne, as I assure my selfe hee cannot, having upon mine honour within these wals, at this instant aboue two thousand fighting men, that are strong and able, besides those which having beene sicke and hurt, recover daily: The greatest part of these composed of old Souldiers, which fall not but by the sword, and those that were new, being now both



trayned to their Armes, and growen acquainted with the Climat, are more able to endure then at the first; our meanes are good as it hath beene, any time these two moneths, such as the Spaniards can well away withall, and thereof to suffice us for three moneths more; we lodge in good warme houses, haue store of munition, and (which is best of all) stand well assured that our succours will be shortly here; to be plaine, wee preserue our men, and reserue our strength the best wee may, hoping to front you in a breach, which if our hearts faile us not, wee haue hands and breasts enough to stop against treble your forces; though I will giue the Viceroy this right, that his men are passing good, but spent and tired out with misery of a winter siege, which hee hath obstinately mainetained beyond my expectation, but with such caution, and upon so good guard, as having nicely watched all advantages; I could never fasten a salley yet upon him, but with losse to my selfe, wherein I must acknowledge my hopes deceived, that grounding on some error in his approaches, promised my selfe the defeat of at least one thousand men at one blow; but when we meet on the breach, I am confident (upon reason) to lay fiae hundred of your best men on the earth, and rest hopefull that the losse of those will make a great hole in an Army, that hath already suffered so much extreimity; but to conclude our busines, the King my master sent me to assist the Condees *Oneale* and *Odonnell*, presuming on their promise that I should haue joyned with them, within



few dayes of the arrivall of his forces; I expected long in vaine, sustayned the Viceroyes Armes, saw them drawen to the greatest head they could possible make, lodged within two miles of Kinsale, reenforced with certaine Companies of Spaniards, every houre promising to releue us, and being joyned together to force your Campes, saw them at last broken with a handfull of men, blowen asunder into divers parts of the world; *Odonnell* into Spaine, *Oneale* to the furthest part of the North, so as now I find no such Condees *in rerum Natura* (for those were the very words hee vsed) as I came to joyne withall; and therefore haue moved this accord the rather to disengage the King my master, from assisting a people so unable in themselues, that the whole burthen of the warre must lye upon him, and so perfidious, as perhaps might bee enduced in requitall of his favour, at last to betray him.

Vpon relation made by Sir *William Godolphin* to the Lord Deputie and Councill of these offers of *Don Iuan*, which at severall Conferences had been brought to such heads, as by the Articles betweene them is more particularly specified, it was thought good (for divers important reasons) to proceed roundly to the agreement: for whereas in the Propositions by him made, there was not any thing that admitted exceptions on our part, but onely that hee required to carry with him his Ordnance, Munition and Treasure, that being no way prejudiciall to the maine scope, or drift



of our Treatie, which chiefly respected the common good, and safetie of the Kingdome, deserved not almost to bee thought upon. Besides that, the Treasure being at first but one hundred thousand Duckets, with foure moneths payment of so many men, and other necessary deductions, could not bee but very neere wasted, and that little remainder more fit for a prey to the poore Souldiers, (after this tedious travell) then for a clause in the Composition. Furthermore how needfull it was to embrace this accord, may clearely bee seene by whosoever considereth the state of our Armie, almost utterly tyred, how full of danger and difficultie it was to attempt a Breach, defended by so many hands; how long time it might haue cost us (if wee had lodged in the Breach) before wee could haue carried the Towne, being full of strong Castles; how her Majesties Ships, and others being in the Harbour, should haue been forced speedily to forsake us for want of victualls; how our selues were not provided for aboue six dayes at the time of this parley; that wee had neither Munition, nor Artillerie, but for one Battery, in one place at once, five of our Peeces being before crazed: And finally, that if wee had missed of our purpose, the whole Countrey had been hazarded: Furthermore, that which seemed of greatest consequence to enduce his Lordship to this agreement, was, that the Spanyards in Baltemore, Castlehaven, and Beerehaven, by vertue of this Contract, were likewise to surrender those places, and depart the Countrey, which how hard a matter it



would haue prooved, and how long and dangerous a war it would haue drawn on, to root them out, they being strongly fortified, and well stored with victuals, Munition and Artillery, may easily bee conjectured, for that of necessitie the Armie (for some space) must haue rested, and in the end haue been constrained after a new supply of necessaries, (to her Majesties intolerable charges) to transport themselues thither by Sea, the way by land being unpassable, in which time their Succours out of Spaine, in all likelihood would haue been come unto them; the King being so farre engaged in his Honour to second his enterprise, and wee barred of that prosecution of the Rebells, which now by this Agreement wee may wholly intend.

For which considerations, the Lo: Deputie and Councill thought it in their wisdomes meet, to condescend to more indifferent conditions, which beeing propounded and agreed upon by *Don Iuan*, these Articles ensuing were signed and sealed on both parts.

*The Articles of Composition betweene the Lord Deputie and Councill, and Don Iuan de Aquila.*

*Mountjoy.*

In the Towne of Kinsale in the Kingdome of *Ireland*, the second day of the Moneth of *January*, 1601, betweene the Noble Lords the Lord *Mountjoy*, Lord Deputie, and Generall in the Kingdome of *Ireland*, and *Don Iuan de*



*Aquila*, Captaine and Campmaster Generall, and Governour of the Armie of his Majestie the King of *Spaine*, the said Lord Deputie being encamped, and besieging the said towne and the said *Don Iuan* within it, for just respects, and to avoyd shedding of blood, these Conditions following were made betweene the said Lords Generalls, and their Campes, with the Articles that follow.

**F**irst, That the said *Don Iuan de Aquila* shall quit the places which hee holds in this Kingdome, as well of the Towne of Kinsale, as those which are held by the Souldiers under his command, in Castlehaven, Baltimore, and the Castle of Beere-haven, and other parts, to the said Lord Deputie, or to whom he shall appoynt, giving him safe transportation (and sufficient) for the said people, of ships and victualls, with the which the said *Don Iuan* with them may go for *Spaine*, if he can at one time, if not in two shippings.

*Item*, That the Souldiers at this present being under the command of *Don Iuan* in this Kingdome, shall not beare Armes against her Majestie the Queene of *England*, wheresoever supplies shall come from *Spaine*, till the said Souldiers be unshipped in some of the Ports of *Spaine*, being dispatched (as soone as may be) by the Lord Deputy, as he promiseth upon his Faith and Honour.



*Item,* For the accomplishing whereof, the Lord Deputie offereth to giue free pasport to the said *Don Iuan* and his Army, as well Spaniards as other nations whatsoever, that are under his command, and that hee may depart with all the things hee hath, Armes, Munitions, Money, Ensignes displayed, Artillery, and other whatsoever provisions of warre, and any kind of stuffe, as well that which is in Castlehaven, as Kinsale and other parts.

*Item,* That they shall haue ships and victuals, sufficient for their money, according and at the prices which here they use to giue, that all the people and the said things, may bee shipped (if it be possible) at one time, if not at two, and that to bee within the time aboue named.

*Item,* That if by contrary winds, or by any other occasions, there shall arriue at any Port of these kingdoms of Ireland, or England, any ships of these (in which the said men goe) they bee intreated as friends, and may ride safely in the Harbour, and bee victualled for their money, and haue moreover things which they shall need, to furnish them to their voyage.

*Item,* During the time that they shall stay for shipping, victuals shall be given to *Don Iuans* people, at just and reasonable rates.

*Item,* That of both parts shall be cessation of Armes, and security that no wrong be offered any one.



*Item*, That the ships (in which they shall goe for Spaine) may passe safely, by any other ships whatsoever, of her Majesties the Queene of England ; and so shall they of the said Queene, and her Subjects by those that shall goe from hence, and the said ships being arrived in Spaine, shall returne assoone as they haue unshipped their men, without any impediment given them by his Majestie, or any other person in his name, but rather they shall shew them favour, and helpe them (if they need any thing ;) and for security of this, they shall giue into the Lord Deputies hands, three Captaines such as hee shall choose.

For the securitie of the performance of the Articles, *Don Iuan* offereth that he wil confirme, and sweare to accomplish this agreement : And likewise some of the Captaines of his Charge shall sweare and confirme the same in a severall writing.

*Item*, that hee in person shall abide in this Kingdome, where the Lord Deputie shall appoynt, (till the last shipping) upon his Lordships word : And if it happen that his people be shipped all at once, the said *Don Iuan* shall goe in the same Fleet, without any impediment given him : But rather the Lord Deputy shall giue a good ship, in which hee may goe ; and if his said men be sent in two shippings, then he shall goe in the last.

And in like sort the said Lord Deputie shall sweare



and confirme, and giue his word in the behalfe of her Majestie the Queene and his owne, to keepe and accomplish this agreement, and joyntly the Lord President, the Lo. Marshall of the Campe, and the other of the Councell of State, and the Earles of *Thomond* and *Clanricard*, shall sweare and confirme the same in a severall writing.

I doe promise and sweare to accomplish and keepe these Articles of Agreement, and promise the same likewise on the behalfe of his Majestie Catholique, the King my Master.

*George Carew.*

*Thomond.*

*Don Iuan de Aguila.*

*Clanricard.*

*Richard Wingfield.*

*Robert Gardiner.*

*George Bouchier.*

*Richard Levison.*

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## CHAP. XXIV.

*The names of the Hostages delivered by Don Iuan. Don Iuan his demand of victuals for the transportation of his men. The victuals which was delivered to Don Iuan, and their rates. The number of Spaniards which were transported out of Ireland. The Lord Deputie brake up his siege and returned to Corke. Captaine Harvies Commission for his government.*

**T**HE day the Articles were Signed, *Don Iuan* dined with the Lord Deputie, and the next day after, the



Lord President (having Sir *Richard Levison* and Sir *William Godolphin* in his company) was sent into the Towne of Kinsale, where he dyned with *Don Iuan* to treat with him, about such shipping and victuals as hee would demand, for the transportation of his men, and at what rates, for the which ready money was to bee payd : And also to demand of him, the three Captaines which the Lord Deputie had made choise of, which were *Don Pedro Morijon*, Captaine *Pedro cuaco*, and Captaine *Diego Gonzales Sigler*, to remaine Pledges untill the returne of the ships: The demands hee made of victuals, and tonnage for the victualling and transporting of three thousand and two hundred men (remayning in Kinsale, Castlehaven, Baltimore, and Donboy, whereof two thousand and sixe hundred in Kinsale, and sixe hundred at the places aforesaid) were as followeth.

First his demands was sixe weekes victuals, in forme following.

For every weeke foure dayes flesh, three dayes fish.

For every flesh day, bread foure and twenty ounces for a man, and sixe of Beefe.

For every fish day, foure and twenty ounces of Bread, sixe ounces of fish, and one ounce of Butter.

For every hundred men, one Pipe of wine, besides water.



For shipping for every three men, two Tuns, and hee to giue fourtie shillings le Tun, and his men to bee landed at the first Port they can touch in Spaine.

For the expediting of these demands, the Lord Deputie gaue present direction to all the Ports within the Province, for the taking up of shipping, and warrant to *Allen Apsley* (the Commissary for the victuals in Mounster) to issue out of the Queenes store, according to the demands made : These quantities of victuals ensuing, for the which hee should receiue money of *Don Iuan*, whereby the Magazine might bee supplied.

Towards the accomplishing whereof, the Comissary of the victuals delivered this ensuing proportion, *viz.*

|                   |            |      |    |    |
|-------------------|------------|------|----|----|
| Bisquet           | 186052 li. | 2067 | 4  | 8  |
| Butter            | 6304       | 157  | 12 | 3  |
| Flesh             | 47394      | 789  | 18 | 00 |
| Fish              | 18339      | 305  | 13 | 00 |
| Ryce              | 1235       | 30   | 17 | 6  |
| <i>Summa tot.</i> |            | 3351 | 5  | 5  |

Which being with all possible convenience dispatcht, haste was made for their Embarquing at two sundry times : There was shipped at Kinsale, (the care whereof was committed to Captaine *Francis Slingsbye*) 2070: at Baltimore, and at Castlehaven by Captaine *Roger*



*Harvie* 415, in all 3025, besides Captaines, inferior Officers, Priests, and religious men, and a great Company of Irish.

The fourth of Ianuary a Spanish ship appeared by the old Head of Kinsale, hovering before the Harbor mouth. The Lord Deputie having concluded the Composition with *Don Iohn*, for the rendring of the Towne of Kinsale, sent a Boat with some men in her to let them know that *Don Iohn* and hee were good friends, and therefore hee might safely come in without any danger, (in which Boat was one *Thomas Foster*, a Nephew to Sir *Anthony Cooke*) which message as-soone as it was delivered, the Captaine of the ship tooke in all the men, hoysed sayle, and stood away with all speed for *Spaine*. This might seeme to be an action performed with no good approbation, in putting those men into their power ; but whether it be justifiable or no, the successe prooved it to bee of very great consequence : for though the newes of the defeat of the Irish Armie were come into *Spaine* by *O Donnell*, and those with him, yet *Don Iohn* stood firme in Kinsale without danger to be much pressed by the Deputy, soliciting new forces, hoping thereby to repaire their former losses, to reunite their dispersed Companies, and to overthrow the English forces, being much spent and sore weakened by their Winter siege : Before the arrivall of *O Donnell* Seconds were in preparing, and after his arrivall both increased, and much hastened, as may appeare by the Letters intercepted, which



came out of *Spaine* to *Don Iohn*, when hee was at Corke, both from the King of *Spaine*, the Duke of *Lerma*, the Secretary *Ibarra*, and others: But when they understood by those men, that *Don Iohn* had compounded for the rendering of Kinsale, and for their returning into *Spaine*, it then put them to a stand for their proceedings, and at last concluded to giue over the attempt, finding so little assistance either in the power or courage of the Irish: And if this had not fallen out thus, and that those seconds had come and landed in *Ireland*, it might haue beene much doubted, or rather positiuely beleeeved the contrary, that those Spanyards would not haue been bound by *Don Iohns* Articles, but haue taken their best opportunitie of their force and power, in kindling a new flame, and making that Kingdome againe in as desperate an estate as ever heretofore it hath been, if not worse.

These things being thus ordered, and no cause appearing of longer stay in the Campe, the ninth of *Ianuary* the Lord Deputy rose, and the same day he rode to Corke, having in his company *Don Iuan de Aguila*, and many of the Spanish Captaines, the grosse of his companies being left in Kinsale. The Lord Deputie lodged in the Bishop of Corkes house, *Don Iuan* in the Citie, and the President at Shandon Castle. The day following the Captaines received directions to repayre to sundry Towns in Mounster ap-  
poynted for their Garrisons; And the same day Cap-



taine *Roger Harvie*, and Captaine *George Flower* were dispatched with certaine Companies to goe by Sea, to receiue the Castles of Castle-haven, Donneshed, and Donnelong at Baltimore, and Dunboy at Beerehaven in the West, all which were then in the possession of the Spanyards. Also the sayd Captaine *Harvie* had a Commission graunted unto him, for the government of all the Countreyes betweene Rosse in Carbery, and the Bay of Bantrey, as followeth.

A Commission from the Lord Deputie and  
Councell unto Captaine *Roger Harvy*,  
for the government of  
Carbry.

*Mountjoye.*

**W**Ee greete you well: *Whereas wee haue thought it very expedient for the furtherance of her Majesties service, and the drawing and settling the Inhabitants of the Westernne parts, of the Province of Mounster (which lately revolted) into her Majesties allegiance againe, which in regard that divers the Rebels which were united to Tyrone, and the Spaniards, upon the overthrow given them, made escape, and are drawen to Baltimore, Castlehaven, and those other Westernne parts: For the better prosecution, cutting off, and apprehension of those, and of all other Rebels, Traytors, Fellons, and other capitall Offenders, by all the best and speediest meanes that may be: Wee haue thought it good, in regard of the great knowledge*



*and experience, wee haue had and found in your faith and valour, and in respect of the speciall trust, confidence, and sufficiencie, wee repose in you, Wee haue thought it good to grant and commit unto you, (during our pleasure) the command and authority (by the power granted us by her Majestie) over the Castles of Baltimore, and Castlehaven, and the whole Countrey of Carbery, and over all the Countries, territories or places of Collemore, Collibeg, Ivagh, Mounterbarry, Slewghteagibane, Slewghteage, Roe, Cloncahill, Clondermot, Clonloghen, and Coshmore, and over all the other Countries, territories, places by what name or names soever they bee called, from the Towne of Rosse, to the hither parts of the Meares, and bounds of Beere and Bantry, and so in compasse Northwards, to Muskery : And we doe giue you power and authority over the Queenes people and her Subjects, and Inhabitants, in all, or any the said Countries, ap-  
poynting and authorising you hereby, to prosecute with fire and sword, all Rebels, Traytors, or other capitall Offenders, and all their Ayders, Releevors, Maintainers, Receivers, and Abettors, or any other Offenders whatsoever that are not amenable to her Majesties Lawes, or haue combined, or adhered themselves, to any her Majesties enemies, or to any now in actuall rebellion against her Highnesse, and to make ceasure of all their goods and chattles to her Majesties use : And for the better effecting of this her Highnesses service, and the speciall trust reposed in you, wee doe hereby giue unto you liberty, to em-*



ploy, or send among the Enemies, or Rebels (now in action) such Messengers and Espialls, as you shall thinke fit to use, and to write to parley, conferre, or treat with them, or any of them, and to receive Messengers or Letters from them, and to keepe any of them in your company fourteen dayes, to procure the doing of service, or to gaine intelligences from them; and upon assurance and good hopes, that any of the said Rebells will do service to her Majestie; Wee doe hereby authorize you to safe conduct them by warrant under your hand, for the like space of fourteene dayes, so as in the meane time you send them unto us, or to the chiefe Governour of the Province (for the time being) which your safe conduct shall bee duly observed, to all those you grant it unto.

And for the better and speedier cleansing, and purging the Countrey from Rebels, and Malefactors; Wee doe hereby giue, and commit unto you, full power and authority to execute by Marshall Law, all notable and apparent Offenders and Malefactors, that can neither dispend fourtie shillings in Lands per Annum, nor are worth ten pounds in goods, and as for such Rebels and Malefactors, as are not within compasse of Martial Law, them to apprehend and commit to the Sheere Goale, there to remaine and attend their trials by due course of her Majesties common Lawes: And for the better advancement of her Majesties Service, wee do hereby authorise you,



*to go aboard any Ship, Barque, or other Vessel, that shall bee, or arriue in those parts, and to make search in them for Traytors, Iesuits, Seminaries, Letters, or prohibited wares, and to make stay of them, if just occasion so require, and to presse and take up any the Boats, or Vessels, that are or shall bee within the compasse of your command, and them to send and employ, to such place or places, as her Majesties service shall giue you occasion, or otherwise to use and dispose of them, as you in your discretion shall thinke meetest : And this our authority and Commission to you granted, to haue continuance during the pleasure of us the Lord Deputie; and if wee shall not recall the same during our aboad in this Province, then the same to bee in force during the pleasure of the Lord President, and no longer. And therefore wee doe hereby straightly charge and command all her Majesties Officers, Ministers, and loving Subjects, to be unto you (in the due execution of the premisses) aiding, obedient, and assisting at their uttermost perils; and for such your whole doings herein : These shall bee unto you sufficient warrant and discharge : Giuen under her Majesties privie Signet, at the Campe before Kinsale, the seventh day of Ianuary, 1601,*

George Carew.  
Richard Wingfield.  
George Bouchier.

To our well beloved Captaine, *Roger Harvy.*



The eleaventh, the Lord President had intelligence from England, that *Iames* (the late restored Earle of Desmond) was dead, and that eighteene hundred quarters of Oates were sent into Mounster for the releefe of our horses.

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### CHAP. XXV.

*Don Iuan his request to the Lord Deputie. A resolution in Councell to erect certaine Forts in Mounster. The request of the Inhabitants of Kinsale to the Lord President. Certaine Companies cashiered. A Letter from the Lord President to her Majestie. The Examination of Richard Owen. Richard Owen his Message from Tyrone to the Lord Deputie. Instructions for Captaine George Blunt.*

**T**HE fourteenth, *Don Iuan* wrote to the Lord Deputie, to pray his Lordship, that expedition might be made in taking up of shipping for his transportation, and that his Lordship would commisserate the poore Spanish Prisoners in Corke, who were like to perish for want of food: During the siege there had beene taken at Rincorran, Castle Ny Parke, in sallyes, and in the overthrow of *Tyrone*, together with some runawaeyes that voluntary came unto us, about two hundred, rather more than lesse, whereof some of them had been sent into ENGLAND. About this time the Lord Deputie and the Lord President went by Boate to an Iland in the River of Corke, called *Halbolin*, sixe or seven miles from the Citie, which upon view they thought fit to be fortified, being so



seated, as that no shipping of any burthen can passe the same, but under the commaund thereof: Whereupon direction was given to *Paul Ive* (an Ingeneere) to raise a fortification there, and also another at Castle Ny Parke, to command the Haven at Kinsale. Furthermore it was resolved in Councell, that Forts should haue beene erected at Baltimore and Beerehaven, as also Cittadells at Corke, Limrick, and Waterford, to keepe the Citizens in some awe; but none of these workes were performed, saue onely the Forts at Halbolyn and Castle Ny Parke aforesayd.

And the same day the better sort of the Burgesses of Kinsale came to the Lord President, to beseech him to render unto them their Charter, Seale, Mace, and Standard, which some of them, upon the Spaniards arrivall at Kinsale, had delivered unto him (to bee safely kept) untill the Spanish storme was past; which they did not deliver unto him as a Surrender, but to shew and manifest their Dutys: The President acquainted the Lord Deputy with their Petition, and by agreement, the answer (which the President made) was, That before hee had received directions from *England*, he might not restore their Muniments unto them, for that hee conceived that they were forfeited: But hee would write in their behalfe, and so he did; And not long after he had direction to deliver them, but with this caution, that they should at their owne charges reedifie their walls, and giue helpe of La-



bourers towards the finishing of Castle Ny Parke, which they promised to performe.

From the fourteenth of Ianuary unto the last of the same, no matter of any consequence hapned, all which time was spent in civill causes, in sending of dispatches into England (as occasions did result) in discharging of Companies which were growen weake, whereof two thousand in List were casheered, in hastning away of the Spaniards, and in setling of Garisons in the East part of Mounster, among other private dispatches, which the Lord President sent into England; hee wrote this Letter unto her Majestie.

*A Letter from the Lord President to  
her Majestie.*

SACRED MAIESTIE,

**N**OW that it hath pleased the omnipotent Director of all things to blesse you with a happie Victorie over the malicious Traytors, and forraine enemies, which endeavoured with all their forces to draw from your Imperiall Crowne, this Realme of Ireland, in the which by your Majesties expresse Commandment, I haue been (though farre unworthie) imployed in a Charge, wherein my weaknesse doth too much appeare; yet since out of your Princely favour, your Majestie hath beene pleased to accept of those poore



services, which by your Forces I haue formerly performed, and with your royall hand, (to my unspeakeable comfort) unto myselfe haue witnessed the same, I am emboldened (under the assurance of your gracious Pardon) to present before your gracious eyes, those unworthy Lines, unworthy of your view, as well in regard of him that writes them, as the forme wherein they are written. Since the victorie aforesaid, the face of this Kingdom is strangely altered; The Rebell, (formerly proud) is now become a dismayed fugitiue, the neutrall subject which stood at a gaze, better confirmed, and the Spanyard, (which promised unto himselfe no lesse than a Conquest) is glad to entreat a Composition to depart: This wonderfull worke of God, (for unto him it is wholly to bee ascribed) hath brought this Realme, (so farre out of order) in a fayrer way of reduction than ever I knew it. When your Majestie employed me in this Service, I then feared it was (as I now understand it to bee) a secret punishment from God for my sinnes, for unto myselfe I had propounded that happinesse (which others haue) never to be farre distant from the comfort of your royall eyes, which addes fullnesse of joy with admiration to the beholders. Wherefore gracious Soveraigne, commiserate my exile, and let me your poore servant, (rich in faith and loyaltie unto you) bee partaker of others happinesse, that the remainder of my life therein may be blessed: But if I be not capable of such abundant grace in so great measure, (which my



*Soule desires) yet let my humble suite thus farre prevaile, that in your Princely favour you will be pleased to giue mee leaue for a few moneths to behold that Majestie which is envyed, but not equalled by any earthly Prince. From your Majesties Citie of Corke the nineteenth of January, 1601.*

Your Sacred Majesties  
vassall and creature,

GEORGE CAREW.

The fourth of *February*, one *Richard Owen* an ancient and inward Servant of *Tyrones*, came unto *Corke*, with a message from his Master unto the Lord Deputie; but before I speake of his Negotiation, I thinke it convenient to fall backe to the sixth of *Ianuary*, at which time hee made meanes to haue access unto the President; for (you must understand) hee had been with *Don Iohn* in *Kinsale*: The President acquainting the Lord Deputy with it, hee was called before them both, and was examin'd by them, whereunto hee made an answer as followeth.

He saith hee went out of Ireland with Sir *William Stanley*, and was employed by him in the rendering of *Deventer* to *Taxis*.

Hee left Sir *William* upon a discontentment (about fower yeares after being then a Lieutenant) because



Sir *William* did advance the English, and not the Irish to charges, and then put himselfe into the Kings pay as a Pensioner, and there remayned in the Low-countries, and France, until about three yeares since; he came over into Ireland by the way of Scotland, and landed at Dunluce, with purpose to serue *Oneale*, whose kinsman hee is by his mother, and remayned with *Tyrone*, untill by him hee was employed to carie his Sonne into Spaine.

Hee had Letters from *Tyrone* and *Odonnell*, to the King, and from *Tyrone* unto *Don Iuan Idiaques*, the Duke of Lerma, to *Fray Gaspar de Cordoua*, the King's Confessor, the Secretarie *Prado*, and to the Secretarie *Estevan de ybarra*.

The contents of the Letters, were to pray Aides to subsist the warre, according to the promise made by the old King; if the aides were sent for Vlster, then *Tyrone* required but fower or fiue thousand men, if the King did purpose to send an Army into Mounster, then he should send strongly; because neither *Tyrone* nor *Odonnell* could come to helpe them.

Hee saith, that *Fray Matheo de Oviedo* (the Archbishop of Dublin) out of an ancient knowledge which hee had in this kingdome, having beene before in this Realme, in *Iames fits Maurice* his rebellion, did solicit the sending of forces hither, and came into the



North, purposely to see, and understand the state of the Countrey.

Hee also saith, that *Tyrone* sent his Sonne into Spaine, to bee there brought up, not being demanded of the King as a Pledge.

Hee saith, that all the Kings Councell were very forward to thrust on the invasion, and for his owne particular, he advised that the Spanish forces should land at Carlingford, and if that Councell did not like them, then hee perswaded that the forces should land at Galway or Sligo.

Hee saith, that *Oneales* Sonne hath two hundred duckets pension of the King *per mensem*.

Hee saith, that when the Army came for Ireland, out of a desire to establish religion, and to procure to the Irish Lords some greater government in the Realme, he came voluntary hither, without pay, but protests that hee never wished that the Crowne of Ireland should be taken from the Queene: Hee saith, he never heard of any of Ireland, that by Letters did solicit this invasion, but *Iames Mac Sorley*, who (as hee heard) writ to the King; that *Florence* did write unto the King hee knowes not, but *Tyrone* did write unto this Examinat, that *Florence* would bee in Armes with him against her Majesty.



Hee saith, that he thinketh, that if the Spaniards had prevailed in this Enterprise, that their meaning was not to possesse themselues of Ireland, but from hence to haue invaded England, and to haue entertained the Irish Nation in that enterprise.

Being demanded if the English had beene beaten out of Ireland, what government should haue beene here established, and who should haue governed; hee answered that therein he is wholly ignorant, but when *Tyrone* did write for aide, he saith (that hee thinketh) that when the English were banished and expelled, that then hee would submit himselfe to bee dealt withall as pleased the King.

Hee saith, that in March next, hee thinketh that supplyes should haue beene sent to *Don Iuan*, but now hee is of opinion, that never any more will bee sent into Ireland.

Hee saith, that the reason, that now hee desired the Lord President to bring him to the Lord Deputie, was because he was altogether weary to serue with the Irish, and also commanded so to doe by *Tyrone* after his overthrow.

Hee was commanded by *Tyrone* (the next morning after the overthrow) to repaire to the Lord Deputie, and to tell his Lordship, that hee was willing and



desirous to become a Subject, if hee may bee received, and justly dealt withall; and to redeeme his errors past, hee professed to doe all possible service to her Majestie, but that he would not leaue his Sonne hostage for him.

Hee saith, that hee thinketh upon his conscience, that *Odonnell* went into Spaine without any advise of *Tyrones*, and that *Redmond Burke* and Captaine *Mostian* went likewise without his consent.

Which done, being sorry, as he protested, of his traytorly life, hee humbly craved her Majesties gracious protection, promising to merit the same with future loyall service; which being graunted, hee departed. Vpon the fourth of this moneth (as afore-sayd) having beene in the meane time with *Tyrone*, hee made his second addresse to the President, the Lord Deputie then being in Corke, and being called before the Lord Deputie and the President, he delivered unto them a Message from *Tyrone*, the effect whereof was, that he would be glad to be received into her Majesties mercie, being heartily sorry that hee had given her so just a cause of offence, and likewise grieved in his soule, that hee had been the cause of the effusion of so much blood, the exhausting of her Majesties Treasures, and the ruine of his native Countrey; Neverthelesse this pretended grieve and humilitie was farced with some exorbitant conditions, unmeet for him to demaund from his Soveraigne,



(whom hee had highly offended) or for a Monarch to graunt to a vassall: Notwithstanding it was thought good to take hold of the occasion; for although it should not worke the end desired, (which was to settle the Kingdome in tranquillitie) yet a motion onely of submission, proceeding from the capitall Rebelle, would worke in the mindes of the inferiour Traytors, a mistrust of their estates, and seeke by his Example, to sue for grace while there was time, wherein they might hope to obtaine it: Vpon these considerations the Lord Deputie was willing (after hee had shewed his dislike to the Conditions) to embrace the motion; And because that he might be assured to haue a true report returned, Captaine *George Blunt* (who had been a familiar and inward friend unto *Tyrone*, when hee was a Subject) was imployed in this businesse; and for his manner of treating with him, hee had these Instructions following, subscribed by the Lord Deputie, and the Lord President.

When you speake with *Tyrone*, you shall tell him, that you understand that *Richard Owen* came from him to the Lord Deputie, with Commission from him to tell his Lordship, that hee desired to bee received into the Queenes mercy, if his life might be secured.

Whereupon you finding in him such conformitie (out of your ancient loue, which in former time you bare him) were glad of the alteration, and therefore



as his friend did now undertake this long Journey, to perswade him to those courses which might best answer his dutie to his Prince, and repayre his estate, which in your opinion is desperate.

If you find him desirous to bee received to mercie, you shall giue him hope of it, and promise him furtherance for the effecting of it, upon these conditions: That he shall in token of his penitency, and according to the dutie of a Subject to his Naturall Prince, first under his hand write a letter of submission to the Lord Deputie, humbly craving in the same her Majesties mercy, with promise to redeeme his errours past by his future service; That likewise he shall write a publique Submission to her Majestie, imploring at her hands forgiuenesse of his faults, and likewise promise amendment of his life, with a willing desire to doe her some acceptable service, in recompence of his transgression, in the same protesting to serue her Majestie against all men, either of Ireland, or Forreiners that shall endeavour the disturbance of this Countrey.

That he shall put into her Majesties hands his eldest Sonne, for the assurance of his future loyaltie, and foure principall Gentlemen of his blood, as he formerly promised.

That hee shall at his charge finde workmen to build such Forts in the Countrey of *Tyrone*, and in such places as the Lord Deputy shall thinke fit.



That he shall permit throughout *Tyrone*, her Majesties Officers of Iustice, as the Sheriffes and others, to haue free liberty to execute their Offices, as is accustomed in other Provinces and Counties of the Realme, and answer all other duties formerly promised.

That hee shall onely undertake for himselfe, and his Pledges to lye for no more, then those that dwell upon that land onely that is contayned in his Letters Patents, not any way undertaking for the rest of *Tyrone*, as *Tirlogh Brassiloes* sonnes, *Mac Maghon*, *O Cane*, *Mac Guire*, *Mac Genis*, the two *Clandeboyes*, and all of the East side of Ban. That if any of his neighbours shall continue in rebellion, none of their people shall be harboured in *Tyrone*, and likewise that none of *Tyrone* shall (by his consent or knowledge) succour any Rebell, or giue assistance to them; and if any such offender shall happen to be discovered, either by himselfe, or any other her Majesties Officers, upon knowledge thereof, that hee shall doe his best endeavour to prosecute the parties offending, and either take them, whereby they may be tryed by the Lawes of the Realme, or kill them, if they may not otherwise bee had, and shall assist her Majesties Officers, in taking to her use the goods and chattells of the Offenders, and their retinues: That he shall not onely truely pay all her Majesties Rents and Duties from this time forward, due unto her out of *Tyrone*, but also pay the Arrerages, that for many yeares haue been by him detayned.



That in respect of the great charges that hee hath put her Majestie unto, (although it bee not the thousand part of her disbursements) *In nomine pænæ* (which in all such great offences is accustomed) towards the victualling of her Majesties Garisons, hee shall pay two thousand Cowes within sixe moneths: That the Countrey of *Tyrone* may bee limited, and no more by him to be possessed, then is containd in his Letters Pattents: That the territory of *Tyrone* might bee divided into shieres, and haue Goales as hee hath formerly desired: That hee put at liberty the Sonnes of *Shane Oneale*; and all other prisoners, English and Irish: These things you shall only propound as from your selfe, yet as conceiving that they will be demanded at his hands, if hee be received, and to draw as large an overture from him, of what hee will agree unto, as you can perswade him, telling him, that the greater assurance he doth giue the estate of his loyaltie, the greater will bee his safetie, for wee shall conster his good meaning, by his free offer thereof, and after wee shall haue the lesse reason to bee jealous of him.

*Mountioye.*

*George Carew.*



## CHAPTER XXVI.

*The King of Spaines Letters intercepted. A Letter from the Duke of Lerma to Don Iuan de Aguila. A Letter from the Duke of Lerma to the Archbishop of Dublin. A Letter from the Secretary Ybarra to Don Iuan de Aguila. A Letter from the Secretary Fragursa to Don Iuan de Aguila. A Letter from the King of Spaine to Don Iuan de Aguila.*

ABOUT the tenth of February, <sup>a</sup> *Don Iuan de Aguila* residing in Corke, whilst his Troopes were preparing to bee imbarqued for Spaine; In this interim, a Spanish Pinnace landed in the Westermost part of the Province, and in her, there was a Messenger sent from the King to *Don Iuan de Aguila* with a packet of Letters: The President having knowledge thereof, told the Lord Deputie, that if hee had a desire to know the King of Spaines intentions, there was a good occasion offered, the Lord Deputies heart itching to haue the Letters in his hands, prayed the President to intercept them if hee could hansomely doe it; the President undertooke it, and having notice that the next morning the Messenger would come from Kinsale to Corke, and knowing that there was but two wayes by the which hee might passe, called Captaine *William Nuce* unto him (who commanded his foote Company) to make choise of such men as hee could trust to lie upon those passages, and when they saw such a Spaniard (whom hee had described unto him) to seaze upon him, and as thieues to rob him both of his Letters, horses and money, not to hurt his person,



but to leaue him and his Guid bound, that hee might make no swift pursuit after them, and when they had delivered him the Letters to runne away: Captaine *Nuce* so well followed his instructions, as the Spaniard was taken in a little Wood, and the Letters brought at dinner time; *Don Iuan* (if I doe not mistake) that very day dyning with him, who instantly caried them to the Lord Deputie, where at good leasure the packets were opened and read, which done the President went to his house, leaving the Letters with the Lord Deputie: the same evening, the Spanish Messenger having beene unbound by passengers, came to *Don Iuan de Aguila* relating his misfortune, in being robbed not fiae miles from the Towne: *Don Iuan de Aguila* went immediatly to the Lord Deputie, grievously complayning that the Messenger was robbed by Souldiers (as hee alleaged:) The Lord Deputie seemed no lesse sorry, but (said he) it is a common thing in all Armies to haue debauched Souldiers, but hee thought it to bee rather done by some of the Countrey thieues; but if the fact was committed by Souldiers, it was most like to bee done by some Irish men, who thought it to bee a good purchase (as well as the money) to get the Letters, to shew them unto their friends in rebellion, that they might the better understand in what estate they were in: *Don Iuan* not being satisfied with this answer, desired the Lord Deputie to enquire of the Lord President, (for of his intercepting of them he had a vehement suspicion) whether hee had any knowledge of the matter,



and so they departed. The next morning the Lord Deputy related to the President the complaint, and his answers : *Don Iuan* eager in the pursuite of his Letters, came to know of the Lord Deputie what the President answered : The Lord Deputie answered him upon his fayth, that hee was sure that the President had them not ; which hee might well doe, for they were in his owne possession : In conclusion, a Proclamation was made, and a reward (in the same promised) for him that could discover the Theeves, and a pardon for their liues graunted that committed the fact, if they would come in and confesse it ; with this *Don Iuan* rested satisfied : How much the intercepting of these Letters did import her Majesties Service, (not one Spanyard being then imbarcked, but remaining in a Body at Kinsale) may appeare by these ensuing Letters (Englished) taken at that time.

A Letter from the Duke of *Lerma*, to  
*Don Iuan de Aguila*.

**N**Ot many dayes past I wrote unto you, and now I make answere to those which I received from you the thirteenth of the last October, assuring you, that his Majesty puts great confidence in your care and valour : As touching the men, and other things which you demaund, there is dispatched a good quantitie, and more is in preparing, and make you no doubt, but still more shall bee in sending, as much as may bee : for his Majestie hath it before his eyes, and I have taken



*in hand the solliciting thereof; Wherefore you may bee assured, that you shall not want any thing which may bee sent that is needfull: There is now in readinesse, 150 Launces, which shall be presently embarked, and more men are in levying with expedition, with whom Money shall be sent: And so referring myselfe (for the rest) to his Majesties Dispatch, I will say no more, but to assure you, that in all things which may concerne you, esteeme mee ever to bee your Sollicitor. God keepe you. Valladolid, the fourth of December, 1601.*

*El Duque de Lerma,  
Marques de Denia.*

*To Don Iuan de Aguila, Master  
of the Campe, Generall of the  
men of Warre in Ireland.*

*A Letter from the Duke of Lerma to the  
Archbishop of Dublin.*

*I Have received your Lordships Letters, giving thanks to God for the successe of your journey, for by it it appeares, that there is a way and doore open for many good purposes for his service, and his Majestie hath much confidence of the care & zeale which your Lordship hath for the progression in the same. Now we send you a good Body of men, with such things as is necessary, and more shall be prepared, and so continue sending as much as wee may, whereof you need not doubt: for his Majestie (whom God preserue)*



*holds it before his eyes, forasmuch as the most important thing (appertaining to this businesse) is the joyning of the Earles with Don Iuan de Aguila: his Majestie commandeth your Lordship to doe in it your uttermost endeavour, according to the confidence hee hath in your zeale. God preserue your Lordship. From Valladolid the fifth of December. 1601.*

El Duque de Lerma  
Marques de Denia.

*Let not your Lordship be wearied  
with your travells, I hope in God  
they will be full of good successes.*

Al Arcobispo de Dublin.

A Letter from the Secretary *Ybarra* to *Don Iuan de Aguila*.

**B***Y Captaine Albornoz I wrote unto your Lordship, and I wish that this dispatch may overtake him (at the Groyne) according to the desire I hold, that it, and that which goes with it, were with your Lordship, certifying you that as much is done (as may be) for your supply in all things: I wrote unto your Lordship, that there were two Companies of Horse ready to be sent unto you, but now I say there is three, and in them two hundred and twenty Souldiers well armed, and horsed; and it please God they shall be all imbarqued in this Moneth, God in his divine mercy*



*guid them: There is men levied in all Castile and Portugall, and shipping embarged to transport them, victuals and other necessaries in providing; and now at this instant there is imbarqued in Lisborne, in the Groyne, and Saint Andera more then sixe thousand Hanegas of Wheat, and three hundred pipes of Wine, and some Beanes and Rice, and sixe hundred Arrobas of Oyle; and moreover, besides this which I say is imbarqued, there are Commisaries taking of more up, and no care shall be wanting to hasten them away: I haue spoken with Captaine Moreles, and of that which hee hath told mee of the seat of the place, and of the small number of men your Lordship hath, I feele myselfe grieved; but when I call to mind, what a person Don Iuan de Aguila is, the way is open unto me, to expect great matters, and I hope God will grant the same according to the worth of your Lordship, against your wicked enemies: Let your Lordship hasten the joyning of the Earles with you, for of all things that is most important, which being done, before the Queene can reenforce her Army all is accomplished; I am desirous to heare that the excellent good Horsemen were with your Lordship, that with them your Lordship may winne honour in the field, &c. From Valladolid this seventh of December, 1601.*

*Estevan de Ybrra.*

*To Don Iuan de Aguila,  
Generall Master of the Campe.*



A Letter from the Secretary *Franquesa*, to *Don Iuan de Aguila*.

**H**IS Majestie is much satisfied of the good government (in those occasions) of your Army; and *J* hope in God, that with the succours, which now shall be sent unto you, it will bee bettered, in such sort, that you will not onely bee able to defend your selfe from the Enemies, but also to chastise them, the meanes to effect the same, is for you to hold your selfe as you are, untill the succours aforesaid doe come; in the meane time, the more you are pressed upon, the more will be your reward and recompence, which his Majestie will conferre upon you, the which *I* will thrust on, as occasion shall offer it selfe, and bee alwayes vigilant in these things which shall concerne your Lordship as *I* haue beene. God preserue your Lordship according to my desire: From *Mansilla* the thirteenth of *January*, 1602.

To *Don Iuan de Aguila*, Master  
of the Campe, Generall of his  
Majesties Army in Ireland.

A Letter from the Duke of *Lerma* to  
*Don Iuan de Aguila*.

**B**Y that which *Zubiare* and *Pedro Lopez de Soto* hath written, and by the comming of the Earle *Odonnell*, who is now in the Groyne, wee haue understood of the overthrow of the Earles, and from thence



*is gathered, that all the forces are now bent against you, and that your onely valour and wisdom hath beene able to resist them; and let the great estimation his Majestie holdeth of you, mitigate the care which this businesse may bring you; his Majestie hath commanded me speedily to prepare gallant succours, both by Land and Sea, which is done, and shall bee presently dispatched, and this ship is onely sent to advertise you thereof, to the end that you may with the more courage defend your selfe, and to bring a true report in what state you stand, which may more particularly appeare unto you by his Majesties Letter which with this you shall receive, whereunto hee hath commanded me to add this, that hee hath in his favour made you one of his Councillors of his councill at warres, which I congratulate with you; assuring you on his part, that God willing hee will conferre greater favours upon you, wherefore proceed cheerefully, as both now and heretofore (in the course of your life) you have done, taking every occasion to strengthen your selfe in this siege, and to endamage the Enemy that hee may not hinder you, and to assure the Army no man living hath received greater rewards from his Majestie then you shall; I take upon myselfe the care of it, and I pray you to write me such good newes as I desire, whereof I hope in God: In Mansilla the thirtieth of January, 1602.*

El Duque de Lerma  
Marques de Denia.



*God is my witnesse, I neither eate nor sleepe with lesse care then any one of them that are with you, and I would willingly be in the perill of every one of you and if the shedding of my blood might be advantageous, I would readilly giue it for you all that haue such need: Doe your endeavours, for presently succours shall be sent unto you.*

*To Don Iuan de Aguila, Master of the Campe,  
Generall of the men of warre in Ireland.*

*A Letter from the King of Spaine to  
Don Iuan de Aguila.*

EL. REY.

**D**ON Iuan de Aguila, *Master of the Campe, Generall of my Army in Ireland; by that which Pedro de Zubiare, and Pedro Lopez de Soto haue written unto me, I haue understood of the defeat of the Earles, Oneale and Odonnell, and likewise I now see that all your hopes remaines in your valour and wisdome; wherein I haue such confidence, that I hope in the midst of so many dangers and labours) wherewith you are inuironed) that you will preserue the Armie, untill more succours of shipping, men armes and munitions be sent unto you, which are with all possible expedition in preparing, and shall bee speedily dispatched: You may make vse of them, and take reuenge of the Enemy, and untill they come, which shall be (as I haue said) with celerity, preserue your*



*selfe: I doe not advise you of any particulars, because I assure myselfe of your judgement and experience, that knowes how to make your advantage of such occasions, as the Enemy shall giue for the benefit of the siege: And your selfe and the Army (which is with you) shall haue good testimony of my bounty, thankfulness, and honour I will doe unto you all: and so much doe you signifie unto the Army from me. The Duke of Lerma shall write more unto you: from Mansilla, the one and thirtie of Ianuary, 1602.*

*Yo El Rey.*

*To Don Iuan de Aguila, Master of  
the Campe, Generall of our Army  
in Ireland.*

*Don Pedro Franquesa.*

Not long after most of the Spaniards were imbarqued in Kinsale, onely a few remayning which were to passe with *Don Iohn*; the day before his departure, the Lord Deputie shewed him the copie of the Letters, saying that they were sent unto him out of Vlster by a Priest, who was his spy about *Tyrone*, unto whom the Letters had beene caried; *Don Iuan* (taking this for good payment) thanked the Lord Deputie for his favourable care: All the while *Don Iuan* was at Corke, every day the President and hee had familiar discourse together, but for the most part their passages in speech was betweene jest and earnest, somewhat sharpe and especially when they



spake of religion, their Soveraignes, or their Nations : But it seemes that hee caried a good respect of the President, as by writing and presents sent, which shall in its due place appeare.

The fifteenth, the Lord Deputie and the President having acquainted the rest of the Councill, with the effect of the Spanish Letters, (intercepted as afore-said) though not with the manner how they were gotten, they thought it meete to write unto the Lords of the Councill in England this ensuing Letter, whereby they might understand how things stood for the present, as also to provide for the future, since by the intercepted Letters it appeared, that the King of Spaine had set his heart upon the warre of Ireland.

A Letter from the Lord Deputie and Councill  
to the Lords in *England*,

*M*ay it please your Lordships: The fourteenth of this Moneth we dispatched Sir Richard Morison with our Letters to your Lordships from this place, and the nine and twentieth we wrote againe by Captaine Butler, yet to this day the wind hath continued still so westerly, as since the departure of Sir Richard, no shipping is come to us, either out of England from your Lordships (as we desired) or from Waterford, Wexford, and those parts (as we directed) to carry away the Spanyards hence; nor yet untill Sunday the seventh hereof, could those ships stirre, that lay ready



at Kinsale, to be sent to Baltimore, Castle-haven, and Beere-haven; but now they are gone, Wee hope that the service to bee done by them (which is the possessing of the Castles, and sending away of the Spaniards in them) will bee presently accomplished, although the winde hath served them so scantily, as we feare they will hardly recover all the places whereunto they are directed: There is onely one Scottish ship gone from Kinsale for Spaine, which carried one hundred and sixtie Spaniards, with part of the Artillerie, but there lies now readie at the Harbour for the first winde, so much shipping as will carie away fiftene hundred more: so as there will bee yet remaining in Kinsale aboue one thousand more, which with the first shipping that comes from the other Ports, shall be imbarqued. Don Iuan stayes to goe last: It appeareth by some Letters intercepted, which wee send herewithall unto your Lordships, that the King of Spaine purposeth to send a larger supply hither with all expedition: Don Iuan assures us to doe the best hee can to stay them, and if he arriue first in Spaine, hee makes no doubt to dissuade their comming; but if they should come before his departure, hee promiseth to returne them according to his Covenant in the Contract, if they doe not come under the command of some other, that hath a Commission apart from his from the King: The Irish haue of late received Letters from Odonnell, to encourage the Rebels to persevere in their rebellion, assuring them of present ayde from Spaine; in the meane time, the



*best of them all doe but temporize, being readie to assist them when they come, especially if they come in any strength, as it is to bee thought in all reason they will, having found their first error; Her Majestie must therefore be pleased to bee at some charge to erect fortifications at Beere-haven, Kinsale and this place, the Commodities and weaknesse of these places being as well known to the Spaniards, as to vs, and further withall to erect Cittadels at Limerick, Corke, and Waterford, though it bee onely to assure the Townes from revolt. It appeareth by the King of Spaines Letter, and so by the Duke of Lermaes, that his heart is very much set upon the enterprize of Ireland, and therefore it is not unlike but that he may send more supplies, after or before Don Iuans arrivall in Spaine, either vnder him, or some other Commaunder; which if he doe, it is also likely the same will bee sent shortly: For prevention thereof (if in your Lordships wisdom it shall be thought meet) we doe humbly beseech, that the foure thousand supplies heretofore desired, and by your Lordships intended, may be presently sent hither, whereof two thousand to bee erected in Companies, and their Captaines to bee named heere, and the other two thousand for the supplies of the Armie, which is exceeding weake; for our men die daily in greater numbers then they dyed in the Campe, the infection being greater, and by some thought, a kinde of plague, (for the people in the Townes die in farre greater numbers then the Souldiers) though wee hope the contrarie; And we*



*doe further desire, that her Majestie will bee pleased to hasten her Fleet to the coast of Spaine, which comming timely, will in our opinions hinder any enterprise for Ireland; But lest that should faile, wee renew our former motion, that the Tremontania and the Moone may bee returned to serue upon the coast of Mounster, that the proportions of Munition and Victuals desired in our former Letters, may speedily bee dispatched hither, and that victualls without impediment may come for all places to releue us: for already a very great dearth is begun, and a famine must ensue, the rates of all things being incredible, and the new Money much repyned at, which notwithstanding wee doe our uttermost endeavors to advance it. But in a matter of so great importance, we humbly desire your Lordships to giue vs leaue to deliver our opinions freely, having so assured ground for it, that if the King of Spaine continue his Warre in this Countrey, it will bee hard to preserue her Majesties Army and kingdome, without the altering of the currant money, so generall is the dislike thereof, and so insolently doe they begin already to refuse it; but if there come no other forraine aid, her Majesty (as we thinke) may securely continue it as it is: For all we that are of the Army, whom it most concerneth, (in regard we liue wholly upon our entertainment) will (God willing) endure it for the advancement of the service, though wee are sensible of our losse, by the excessiue enhansing of the prizes of all things that we are to liue upon, which cannot be holpen so long as*



*this new Coyne continues currant. Of Tyrone, since his overthrow and departure, we hitherto haue heard little, neither doe wee thinke hee will bee able to doe any great harme, without the ayde of new supplies from Spaine. And so wee humbly take leaue, &c. From Corke. 15 February. 1601.*

Among many Letters and papers which were found in the Castle of Dunboy (of the winning whereof you shall after heare ;) there was one written bearing date the fourth of February, 1602. *Stilo novo*, by *Patrike Sinnet* an Irish Priest, remayning in the Groyne with the Earle of *Caracena* to *Dominick Collins* a Iesuit, who was taken at Dunboy and executed, sundry other things he related of *Odonnels* landing in the Asturias, who with the Generall *Pedro de Zubiare* embarked at Castle-haven the            Ianuary, the next day after he came to the Groyne, where he was nobly received by the Earle of *Caracena*, who invited *Odonnell* to lodge in his house ; but hee being Sea sicke, in good manner refused his curtesie ; wherefore the Earle lodged him in a very faire house, not farre from his ; but when his sea-sickness was past, he lodged in the Earles house ; and upon the twenty-seventh of Ianuary, *Odonnell* departed from the Groyne, accompanied by the Earle and many Captaines, and Gentlemen of quality, who evermore gaue *Odonnell* the right hand, which within his government he would not haue done to the greatest Duke in Spaine ; and at his departure, hee presented *Odonnell* with one thousand duckets,



and that night hee lay at *Santa Lucia*: the Earle of *Caracena* being returned, the next day hee went to *Saint James of Compostella*, where he was received with magnificence by the Prelates, Citizens, and religious persons, and his lodging was made ready for him at *Saint Martins*, but before hee saw it, hee visited the Archbishop, who instantly prayed him to lodge in his house; but *Odonnell* excused it: The nine and twentieth the Archbishop saying Masse with pontificall solemnity, did minister the Sacrament to *Odonnell*, which done hee feasted him at dinner in his house; and at his departure hee gaue him one thousand duckets: The King understanding of *Odonnells* arrivall, wrote unto the Earle of *Caracena* concerning the reception of him, and the affaires of Ireland, which was one of the most gracious Letters that ever King directed; for by it, it plainly appeared that hee would endanger his kingdome to succour the Catholikes of Ireland, to their content, and not faile therein; for the perfecting whereof, great preparations were in hand: *Odonnell* caried with him to the Court, *Redmond Burke*, *Father Florence*, Captaine *Mostian*, and nine Gentlemen more, where they were nobly received; although the knowledge of the reception of *Odonnell* in Spaine, was not well knownen by mee untill after the taking of Dunboy, yet I thought it requisite to insert it in its due place, according to the time of his being at the Groyne: But now let us return to the affaires of Mounster.



Captaine *Roger Harvie* (according to his directions) being come to Castlehaven, *Pedro Lopez de Soto* the Veador, who had the chiefe command thereof, after the receipt of *Don Iuan de Aguila* his Letters and messages, entertayned him with great humanity, and upon the twelfth of February rendered the Castle unto him, receiving an acknowledgement under his, and his brothers Captaine *Gawen Harvies* hands in writing for the receipt thereof, which done they imbarqued their victuals, baggage, and Ordnance; lastly their men to the number of one hundred and fourtie by pole, and foure Spanish Captaines; Captaine *Roger Harvie* delivered the charge of the Castle unto his brother Captaine *Gawen Harvie*, there to remaine in garrison with his Company of one hundred foote: The same day that Captaine *Harvie* came to Castle-haven, the *Odrischals* (who had the inheritance of the same) by a slight got into the Castle, and had made themselues masters of it; the Spaniards to recover it againe assaulted it, and were undermining the same when Captaine *Harvie* was entering into the Haven; but upon the sight of his ships the Irish by composition (to depart in safetie) rendered it to the Spaniards, who had lost two of their Souldiers in the attempt. The one and twentieth, Captaine *Harvie* having in his Company the Veador, and some other Spaniards, set saile for Baltimore, whereupon the three and twentieth they went on land, and were feasted in the Castle of Done-long by the Governour thereof, called *Andreas de Aervy*, and the next day (by the direction of the



Veador) their Ordnance (being seven in number in the Castle) were shipped: And the sixe and twentieth the said Castle, and the Castle of *Donneshed*, were with Spanish gravitie rendered to her Majesties use. The second of March following they were all imbarqued, and set saile for Spaine: while these things were in doing, Captaine *Roger Harvie* sent a partie of men to *Cape-Cleere*, the Castle whereof was guarded by Captaine *Terrils* men, which they could not gaine, but they pillaged the Island, and brought from thence three Boats; and the second day following, the Rebels not liking the neighbourhood of the English quitted the Castle, wherein Captaine *Harvie* placed a Guard: at this time Sir *Finnin Odrischall* came to Captaine *Harvie* and submitted himselfe: The tenth of the same Moneth, the Lord *Barry*, Captaine *Taffe*, and Captaine *Iohn Barry*, chanced to light upon *Donoghe Moyle Mac Carties* men, and slew eighteene of the best of them.

From Baltimore Captaine *George Flower* was shipped in a Hoy of one hundred and twentie Tuns, with two Companies of two hundred in list, (but weake by pole) to receiue from the Spaniards the Castle of *Dunboy*, but doe all hee could, by reason of fowle weather and contrary winds, hee could never (although hee was at the mouth of the Haven of *Beere*) recover the Land, and so enforced to returne, effecting nothing, in this short Navigation fiftie of his best Souldiers by infection dyed, and but seven of the Saylers living.



## CHAP. XXVIII.

*The Spanyards imbarqued at Kinsale. The Spanyards dispossessed of Donboy by Osulevan Beare. A Letter from Osulevan Beare to the King of Spaine. A Letter from Osulevan Beare to the Earle of Carareza. A Letter from Osulevan Beare to Don Pedro de Zubeaur.*

**T**HE twentieth of *Februarie*, twentie Spanish Captaines with one thousand three hundred seventie foure Souldiers, set sayle from Kinsale for Spaine.

The Composition which *Don Iuan* did make when he surrendred Kinsale, did infinitely grieue and offend the Irish, and especially those who had voluntarily delivered into his hands their Castles, but especially *Donnell Osulevan*, who considering that if his Castle of *Dunboy* should bee in the possession of the English, hee was like to be banished his Countrey, not having any hope of favour from her Majestie, unto whose Crowne and Dignitie hee had manifested himselfe to bee a malicious Traytor, resolved to set up his rest in regaining of it out of the Spaniard hands, and afterwards to defend it against her Majesties Forces as well as hee might: For accomplishing whereof, they watched a fit opportunitie, and surprized it in this sort: Although the Spaniards were the Masters of the Castle, yet evermore he had recourse into it, & lodged therein with such of his men as hee thought good: In the dead time of the night, when the Spanyards were soundly sleeping and the key of the



Castle in the Captaines custody, *Osulevan* caused his men, (amongst the which there were some Masons) to breake a hole in the wall, wherein fourescore of his men entered, for by appoyntment he had drawne that night close unto the Castle, *Archer* the Iesuite with another Priest, *Thomas fits Maurice* the Lord of *Lixnaw*, *Donnell Mac Cartie*, Captaine *Richard Tirrell*, and Captaine *William Burke*, with a thousand men: When day appeared, *Archer* prayed *Francesco de Saavedra* the Spanish Captaine to goe with him to *Osulevans* chamber, unto whom hee made relation, that his men were entred the Castle, that he meant no personall hurt, either unto him, or to any of his, and that he would keepe the same for the King of *Spaines* use, and also told him, that hee had one thousand Foot within Harquebusse shott of the Castle. The Captaine seeing himselfe surprized, made no resistance, and willed his men to doe the like: But the Spanyards in furie discharged a few Musket shott amongst the Irish, and slew three of them, and hurt one: but by the mediation of *Osulevan*, and *Francesco de Saavedra*, the Captaine, all was pacified, *Osulevan* being very carefull that no hurt might bee done to the Spanyards: Afterward *Osulevan* disarmed them all, kept the Captaine, and a few of the better sort, with three or foure Gunners, in the nature of Prisoners, and the rest hee sent to Baltimore, to be imbarqued into *Spaine*: He also seized upon all the Spanish Ordnance, Munitions, and in Victualls, which was there store. The Captaine not long after was set at libertie,



and returned with the *Veador* from Baltimore into Spaine, and with him the other souldiers which were detained, but the Cannoniers *Osulevan* reserved.

When report was brought to *Don Iohn de Aguila* (then in Corke) of the surprize of Dunboy, he tooke it for a great affront, and would presently haue drawn from Kinsale (the Spanish Companies there yet remayning) and march to Dunboy to regaine it by force, and to deliver it according to the Composition into her Majesties hands: But the Lord Deputie and the President, (who were desirous to see his heeles towards Ireland) wished him not to trouble himselfe with that businesse; and when hee was gone, the President should take order for the reducing of it into his hands: the Castle of Dunboy was surprized (as beforesayd) in this moneth of February, 1601, and held by *Osulevan* to the use of the King of Spaine: but yet to excuse himselfe unto the King, and to make it appeare unto him how much hee was his servant, hee wrote unto him, to the Earle of *Carazena*, and to *Pedro de Zubiare*, there being at that present in Beerehaven, the Spanish Pinnace, which brought the Pacquet from Spaine (intercepted betweene Kinsale and Corke) as aforesaid.



A Letter from *Osulevan Beare* to the King  
of Spaine.

My Lord and my King,

**O***Vt of his loue to your kingly greatnesse, your humble stedfast servant Donnell Osulevan Beare, enforced through perill and constraint, do make bold to enforme unto your greatnesse, that upon the landing in Castle-haven, in the West of Ireland, your Generall Pedro de Zubiar, and Pedro Lopez de Soto, with a fleet and men from your greatnesse, according to the inward conceit of mind I alwayes held, which I manifested in my young yeares, and would haue still followed, unlesse disabilitie had constrained mee to the contrary: finding a happie and good opportunity (as I imagined) I came to their presence, tendering my obeisance unto them in the name of your Highnesse, and being with foure hundred men at my owne cost, towards your service, I yeelded out of my mere loue and goodwill without compulsion or composition, into their hands in the name of your Majestie, not onely my Castle, and Haven called Beerehaven, but also my Wife, my Children, my Countrey, Lordships, and all my possessions for ever to be disposed of at your pleasure. They received mee in that manner, and promised (as from your Highnesse) to keepe and saue the said Castle, and Haven during the service of your grace: Notwithstanding my gracious Lord, conclusions of peace were assuredly agreed upon, betwixt*



Don Iuan de Aguila *and the English*, a fact pittifull, and (according to my judgement) against all right and humane conscience. Among other places whereof your greatnesse was dispossessed in that manner, which were neither yeelded nor taken to the end they should bee delivered to the English; Don Iuan tied himselfe to deliver my Castle and Haven, the onely key of mine inheritance, whereupon the living of many thousand persons doth rest, that liue some twentie leagues upon the Sea Coast, into the hands of my cruell, cursed, misbeleaving Enemies, a thing I feare in respect of the execrablenesse, inhumanity, and ingratifnesse of the fact if it take effect, as it was plotted, that will giue cause to other men not to trust any Spaniard hereafter, with their bodies or goods upon these causes. My Lord in that I judge this dishonourable act to be against your honour and pleasure, (as I understand by your last letters that came into Ireland) considering the harme that might ensue to the service of your Majestie, and the everlasting overthrow that might happen to mee, and my poore people, such as might escape the sword of our Enemy (if any should) I haue taken upon mee (with the helpe of God) to offer to keepe my Castle and Haven from the hands of mine Enemies, untill further newes, and order come from your Highnesse: I haue sent my Sonne and Heire (being of the age of fve yeares) as a Pledge for accomplishing your will in this behalfe, and for the performing of my promise past unto your Greatnesse: I would not omit my selfe in person to



*come and visit your Highnesse, but that I feare our warres here would grow weake in respect of my absence, for which cause my selfe, and the rest of our men of worth haue sent in haste with Intelligence vnto your Greatnesse, our loving Friend Dermond Odrischall, in respect of our confidence in him, our knowledge of him, and the continuall endeavours wee see in him towards this Catholique Warre, as from vs all: And for as much as wee could not conveniently write all that wee wish vnto you, wee humbly beseech, that hee may bee heard as from vs all, as if our selues were present, and to hasten helping Newes, that shall rejoyce vs and our people, and afterwards to speed your gracious helpe vnto vs, for the sooner the better, whilst our enemies are not in readinesse; and vntil the comming of newes from your grace vnto vs, I will haue in a readinesse where the service shall require, the number of one thousand men; and I will upon my knees pray the mercifull God, to giue vnto your Grace long life, with health of body and soule, and all happinesse, and so doe commit you to the safeguard of the Omnipotent. Donboy, viz. Beere-haven, the twentieth day of February, 1602.*

Donnell Osulevan Beare.

*A Letter from Osulevan Beare to the Earle  
of Caracena.*

**M**Y dutie remembred: It may please your Lordship to understand, that according to my former Letters,



hath manifestly appeared, heere the resolution of *Don Iuan de Aguila* to haue been (by his composition with the English) to yeeld unto the Enemies hands, all the Forts, and Havens voluntarily delivered by the Lords and Gentlemen of this Land for his Majesties service, which will bee to the dishonour of the King, the prevention of his most godly attempt, and the utter ruine and destruction of thousands of this Countrey Gentlemen and Catholiques, who without compulsion entred into this Action: All which having considered, I haue of meere affection to my Religion, his Highnesse service, and loue to my people and Country, so endeavoured the recovery of my Castle, as I did draw into the same some hundred of my followers, whom although the Spanyards have attempted to resist, and killed three of my best Gentlemen, yet durst none of my people kill any of them, but without harme forced them out of my said Castle, saving their Captaine, with fiue or six unto whom I haue allowed certaine roomes in my House, to looke to the Kings munition and Artillerie: which Castle and Haven I doe detaine, and will evermore, for his Majesties service, to defend, untill his highnesse pleasvre, and your Lordships resolution unto mee shall bee further known: and for the manifestation of my loyaltie, and faithfulnessse to his Majestie, I haue sent my Sonne and Heyre thither, whom I hope ere this time is present before your Lordship, and haue cessed all the Captaines Company upon my own people and charges, humbly beseeching it may please



your Honour, to be a meane unto his most Catholique Majestie, that hee may vouchsafe speedily to releue this place, where many of his Royall Shippes in time of service may bee kept in safetie; Or otherwayse to send some small Ship towards this coast, for to receiue mee and the rest of my Family, and Children, for to bee carryed into Spaine, for the saving of our liues out of the hands of these mercilesse, Hereticall Enemies, making choyce rather to forsake my ancient Inheritance, Friends, followers, and Goods, then any way to trust to their most gracelesse Pardon, or Promise. Thus much I hope your godly charitable Nature will draw you to do for such a one as I am, who hazarded Life, Lands, Goods, and Followers for the Catholique Faith, and the Kings Majesties Service: All which, leaving to your Honourable Discretion, through whose vertuous meanes I chiefly hope to receiue comfort, I humbly take leaue. From Beare-haven Castle the last of February, 1602.

*Your most Faithfull and bounden,*

Donnell Osulevan Beare.

*To the Earle of Caracena, Governor  
and Captaine Generall for his Ma-  
jestie in the kingdome of Galitia.*



*A Letter from Osulevan Beare to Don  
Pedro Zubiaur.*

**M**Y honourable good friend, your kind letters I haue of late received, & for your carefull furtherance, I cannot but rest beholden and thankfull as before: Our state sithence your departing, notwithstanding many crosses was reasonable well; partly because of the weaknesse of the English forces, untill a brute came unto us credibly, that *Don Iuan de Aguila* did not onely agree and compound to yeeld the Towne of Kinsale, but also the other Castles and Havens, delivered voluntarily by the owners unto you, and the Veador to the King his use, during the occasion of service: which notwithstanding (being delivered to the Enemies hands) would mightily discourage and weaken all the Kings friends in Ireland; namely my selfe, who by keeping my possessions belonging to my Castle and Haven of Beerehaven, and able (God bee thanked) and ready at all times to find out for his Majesties service, upon warning and necessitie one thousand men, besides the ward of my owne Castle, where losing the same so unexpected, and surrendered to the hands of most hereticall enemies, I am not only disappointed of all power, but also driven to run to the Mountaines, there to liue like Woolfes, for the safetie of my life, and to leaue to their mercillesse discretion all the poore men, women, and children within the length of twenty Leagues contayning



of my ancient inheritance under my jurisdiction : I pray you as you haue begun, and in his Majesties name, past your promise unto me, to be a meane unto his Majestie, that such shamefull composition void of lawfull ground, may not bee an overthrow and disgrace to the Kings service, and a perpetuall destruction to my posterity for ever, whose Ancestors maintayned the credit and calling of great Gentlemen these two thousand and sixe hundred yeares, sithence their first comming out of Spaine : I haue made offer to the Veador to maintaine all the Spaniards that were at Castlehaven, Baltimore, and here, with Beefe, Fish, Corne and Salt, till his Majesties pleasure were knowen, and to find upon my owne charges one thousand men to defend them : I would personally haue repaired thither, to make relation hereof to the King, his Majestie, but that I doe feare the warres might haue the worse expedition here by my absence ; although you might thinke, I would for a while use some resistance against the Englishmen, with my people and the Fastnesse of my Countrey, yet I know you will pittie old Sir *Finnin*, forced by this composition to yeeld his body to the mercillesse butchery of our Heretical enemies, which leaving partly to bee prevented by your good meanes to the King his most Catholike Majestie : I take leaue, committing you to God : *Beare-haven*, the twentieth of February, 1602.

*Donnell Osulevan Beare.*



It was first much doubted and feared, that the Castle of Dunboy had beene voluntarily, not without the privitie and consent of the chiefe Commanders amongst the Spaniards, delivered [unto *Donnell Osulevan*, there being such an excellent Haven for the Kings ships, if hee should send forces to repaire the ruines of his honour, so much shaken by the former proceedings; but afterward understanding that the Castle was not surprised without some blood, and also intercepting those Letters which verified the contrary, it cleered the Spaniards of that suspition; but howsoever, the holding of this Castle gaue occasion to the countrey more obstinately to stand out in the action, because *Osulevan Beare* (for defence hereof) against the English, had according to the contents of these Letters, entertayned *Tirrell, William Burke*, and others with one thousand Bonnogs, which were by course employed about the fortifying of this Castle. Neere unto the mouth of the Haven of *Beare*, there is a small Iland called the *Dursies*, which is very strongly seated by nature, by reason of the difficulty of landing (which is conveniently) but in one narrow entrance, which may be defended with a few hands, and besides it is impossible for any Boat to arriue at this enterance, except it bee in a dead calme, the least gale of wind raising such billowes, as doe endanger any Boat as shall come neere the shore: this impregnable place, was elected for their extreame refuge, if Dunboy should bee wonne by the English; and therefore the custody thereof was committed to



*Conner Odrischall*, Sonne and Heire to Sir *Finnin* before mentioned, who procuring three Peeces of Spanish Ordnance to be convayed into the Iland, with certaine quantity of powder and shot, and having sixtie choise men, fortified the same (as they thought) against the most potent Enemy; but wee leaue these Rebels busying their braines, and wearying their bodies about these fortifications, and returne to Capitaine *Harvie*, who while the Veador *Pedro Lopez de Soto*, remayned at Baltimore, many curtesies and familiar conferences passed betweene them, wherein hee shewed himselfe to bee a man of great humanity, and a good statesman, able to relate many things, both concerning the State of England, and particularly of the Nobility in the same, as well as some that had spent their whole liues in that Realme; but the end of all his conference, still tended towards a peace between our Soveraigne and his Master, whereby it may bee gathered, that the King of Spaine was wearey of the warre, which himselfe had injuriously begun: The substance of their discourse Captain *Harvie* related to the President, and also shewed him a Pasport of the Veadors, and a Letter which hee sent unto him after his arrivall in Spaine, all which are thus Englished.



## CHAP. XXIX.

*An Interloquuntory discourse betweene Captaine Roger Harvie, and Pedro Lopez de Soto. Pedro Lopez de Soto his Pasport. Pedro Lopez de Soto his Letter to Captaine Roger Harvie.*

*A Discourse that passed betwixt Captain Roger Harvy, and Pedro Lopez de Soto the Spanish Veador, the six and twentieth of February, 1601, in the Iland of Innysharkin, whilest the Spaniards were imbarquing their Munitions and Artillery, from thence the effect as followeth.*

*Soto.* **SIR** (saith hee) is it not a miserable and lamentable thing (in any honest mans conscience) to see the daily effusion of blood and infinite expence of treasure, that this warre betwixt Spaine and England doth daily bring forth and consume?

*Harvie.* I told him it was too high a mysterie for mee to censure, but I thought it to bee the judgment of God, for we must understand that Princes are Gods Ministers, and Agents upon earth, and what they doe is beyond our lymits to looke into: Notwithstanding I thought the pride of his Masters gold, so puffed him up, as either hee must haue all the world, or nothing can content him, or else his King would never haue sought out such a place as Ireland is, to haue buried so many Crownes in, besides the losse of no small number of his Subjects, but it may be here-



after he will know us better, and perchance thinke our nation fitter to conquer, then to loose what we haue.

*Soto.* But doe you thinke that Gold is so abundant with us?

*Har.* The Indian world which you possesse, makes us beleeeue so.

*Soto.* Well, be not deceived, for my selfe haue been a dealer these many yeares in great Affaires for the King, and by that I doe somewhat understand his *Hazienda*, which I must confesse to bee very great, and yet not so exceeding as the world thinkes: But if it were farre greater then it is, I assure you, the infinite number of Garrisons which he is daily forced to maintaine, would devour another such Indies, if hee had them: for doe but looke into how many severall Branches his Treasure is divided into, and then you will beleeeue mee; but yet of all the rest, his expences in the warres of the Low-Countreyes is most chargeable, and of greatest import unto him, and for the which hee may thanke your Queene of *England*, for had not shee assisted those Traitors, they long since had borne the yoke of their deserts, and neither *Ireland* nor *England* had ever been looked into, or offended by us.

*Har.* Why then I perceiue it is not Religion, or Conscience that hath brought you hither to releue the Irish, but onely Revenge, for ayding of the States of the Low-Countreyes against the Cardinall.



*Soto.* But did you ever thinke otherwise? I know you did not; and if you say so, I know you dissemble with me: for the place where you haue been brought up in, hath better discipline.

*Har.* Why, where haue I been brought up?

*Soto.* I heare that you are neere in blood unto the President, and that from a child you haue followed him; and I know that you are better instructed then you make shew of.

*Har.* I must thanke you for your good opinion of mee, but haue you ever seene the face of the President?

*Soto.* I assure you no, and which I am very sorry for: for I heare that he is a worthy Gentleman, and one of the wisest men in Ireland, and if I would take the Irish opinions for my beleefe of him, (they confidently beleeeue that hee hath a familiar) for they say he knows all things, and that nothing can be hidden from him, besides he is so inward with the Secretary of *England*, as his power thereby is the greater, (which strengtheneth much my beleefe of his worth;) but I pray you Sir, is it so?

*Har.* Truely I must confesse, that I am neerely allyed unto him, and that I am wholly his Creature from my Childhood: but for your better satisfaction



of what you haue heard of him, unlesse in modestie I should wrong him, I cannot doe lesse then maintaine the same opinion, which the world holds of his worth and sufficiencie: but for any familiar that he hath, more then a noble Spirit and Iudgement, and as the long experience of this Nation may sufficiently giue him understanding (I assure you hee hath not any) and therefore the Irish in that doe wrong him: And as for the greatnesse with the Secretary of *England*, I know in his Affections he hath been very neere him these many yeares, and to his uttermost hath wholly devoted himselfe unto him; and in any reasonable matter I thinke Master Secretary will assone hearken unto his counsell, (as unto any) if hee were in *England*.

*Soto.* But why would not the Secretary keepe him still with him, but suffer him to spend his time among this barbarous Nation, for which (I thinke) Christ never dyed?

*Harvie.* I cannot say but you object well; but I assure you the necessitie of his coming hither was such, as for the publike good hee was enforced unto it, besides her Majesties opinion of his experience is such, as shee knew he was able to end all the warres in these parts, with expedition, which in fower Moneths my selfe can testifie hee had finished, and had not your Armies comming hither caused a new rupture, hee had good hopes to haue beene called



(long since) home againe, which I know nothing under heaven hee desireth more.

*Soto.* That makes mee thinke that hee is weary of the warres, and would be contented now to liue in peace.

*Harvie.* I thinke not so, unlesse it were a very happy peace, otherwise warres is farre more welcome unto him (although I thought not the Irish warres) but I thought a Spanish Iourney royally undertaken, would please him so much almost as to bee seven yeares younger.

*Soto.* Since your President loues a hot Clymate so well, I would to God hee would bee a meanes to make a peace betwixt the two kingdomes, and then hee might take his choice in whether of them hee would liue, and bee a welcome man unto both, but was not hee in France with Master Secretary when that businesse was a treating?

*Harvie.* Yes.

*Soto.* And were you there likewise?

*Harvie.* No.

*Soto.* I assure you there was excellent jugling of your side, and will be still where great personages



are the Actors, otherwise I imagine there had fallen out better successe; but wee haue some spirits in Spaine, *as that of Essexes was in England*, and will never rest, untill they haue either ruined the kingdome or themselues; but dare you Sir impart this conference unto the President?

*Harrie.* I promise you if I liue I will.

*Soto.* It may bee out of this, may proceed some good effect, for of lesse beginnings then this haue greater matters risen.

*Harvie.* I beleeeue you, although I haue small hopes of this.

*Soto.* And why? Cannot England stand without the Low Countries?

*Harvie.* Yes against all the earth, but not so quiet if that were yours.

*Soto.* Why? wee will not aske any assistance from the Queene, but onely haue her stand a Neuter, and for her safetie and the kingdomes, wee will put in pledge twentie of the best houses in Spaine; such as your State will choose; and if the State of England will but looke judicially into it, they shall find the offer honest, and fit to bee accepted: Considering that the Queene of England is by nature as mortall as



others of lesse quality: and if shee were dead I know the next that shall succeed will afford it, and bee glad of it upon lesse conditions, or else I am deceived.

*Harvie.* But God bee thanked wee haue no cause in England to dreame of succession, but hope she shall be eternall unto us.

*Soto.* That were ill news unto him, who lookes to succeed.

*Harvie.* But Sir to the matter, because I haue promised you to impart this conference unto the President, let mee intreat you to haue somewhat under your hand to justifie it.

*Soto.* ou shall haue a Passe (either for your selfe or any other) from me to come into Spaine, touching this business: The effect whereof I most humbly referre unto God, and so bid you farewell.

*Pedro Lopez de Soto,* Overseer generall of the Army of my Soveraigne the Catholike King, &c. For certain due respects behooful for his Majesties service, this free Pasport (in his royall name) is assured for any English Ship, which shall bring any dispatch from *Roger Harvie* Governour of the Garisons at Castlehaven and Baltimore, directed and superscribed to mee, which shall happen to arriue in any Port in



Spaine, from the date hereof unto the end of Iuly next : By vertue whereof, his Majesties chiefe Officer that shall governe the Province, or port where the said Ships shall arriue, shall giue commandement for the service of his Majestie, that both it, the Seafaring men, and all other persons with their goods, shall be freely received and entertayned, and accommodated to their liking and content, untill the dispatch in the said ship, directed unto me, bee sent unto *Don Pedro Franquesa*, the said ship with her men and goods, may not only, freely returne to these Northren parts, without any impediment, but rather to bee intreated with all possible curtesies: And if any of his Majesties ships of warre, or any of his Subjects ships, shall meet with this English ship, either outward or homeward bound, they shall permit her to passe without any detention, it being convenient for his Majesties service so to doe: Written at Baltimore the nineth of March, 1602.

*Pedro Lopez de Soto.*

Pedro Lopez de Soto his Letter to Captaine  
Roger Harvie.

*ALTHOUGH you be an Englishman, and my selfe a Spaniard, neverthesse (finding you to bee (as it appeares unto mee) a man of honour in all your actions) I cannot but assure you that I am extreamely affectioned unto you, and the cause that moues me to*



*desire your friendship and correspondence, is the just respect I have to the good proceedings of the Lord Deputie, and the Lord President, and their Ministers towards the King my Master, as also of you, and the rest (in the service of your Prince) which hath obliged us to a good correspondence: The Passport which I left with with you, shall bee alwayes faithfully accomplished when occasion shall serue, and of the same you may be confident, for wee will fully obserue it: And so God keepe you: From the Groyne the nineth of April, 1602.*

Pedro Lopez de Soto.

*To Captain Roger Harvie, Governour  
of Castle-haven and Baltimore.*

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### CHAPTER XXX.

*Don Iuan imbarqued at Kinsale. The Lord Deputie departed from Corke towards Dublin. A Letter from the Lord Deputie and Councell to the Lords in England. The Lord Deputie sickened in his Iournie to Dublin. The Lord President surprised with a Feaver in his returne to Mounster.*

**T**HE eighth of March *Don Iuan* being at Kinsale, houely expecting a wind to bee gone, and finding a flattering gale went aboard: The Lord Deputie on the other side, as desirous to bee at his worke in Vlster (for the prosecution of *Tyrone*;) the day following



hee began his Iourney towards Dublin, on whom the Lord President attended, untill hee had brought him out of the Province: But *Don Iohn* for want of a faire wind, departed not from Kinsale untill the sixteenth of the same Moneth: The day before the Lord Deputies departure, or the same day (I know not whether) his Lordship being mindfull of the sufficiencie, blood, and valour of Sir *Richard Percy*, caused him to bee sworne a Councillor of the Province of Mounster, and the night that he left Corke hee lodged at Clone, a Towne and Mannor house sometimes belonging to the Bishop of that Sea, but now passed in Fee farme to Master *Iohn Fits Edmonds*, who gaue cheereful and plentifull entertaynment to his Lordship, and all such of the Nobilitie, Captaines, Gentlemen, and others as attended upon him. The Deputie as well to requite his perpetuall loyaltie to the Crowne of England, as also to encourage others in the like, at his departure, did honour him with the Order of Knighthood, and then continued his iourney towards Waterford, where he bestowed the like honour vpon *Edward Gough*, and *Richard Aylward*, two ancient and well deseruing Citizens.

The President having attended the Lord Deputie to Kilkenny, where they lodged in the Earle of Ormonds house, and all things considered of, which concerned the State of the Kingdome, upon the four



and twentieth of March, the last day of the yeare, 1601, the Lord Deputie and Councell made a Dispatch into ENGLAND, which heere ensues.

*A Letter from the Lord Deputie and Councell to the Lords in England.*

IT may please your Lordships, having certaine intelligence since our comming to this place, that *Don Iuan* and all the rest of the Spaniards departed from Kinsale on Tuesday the sixteenth hereof, and that the wind since that time hath served them so well, as wee assure our selues by this, they are neere the Coast of Spaine; wee thought fit hereby to giue your Lordships notice thereof, that you may know that wee are free now of them all. Since our being here, there hath beene brought in a notorious Rebell, one *William Mac Hubbard*, lately taken in Vpperossery, who of late hath done great spoyles and murders in these parts, more then any other, so as wee haue caused him to bee executed in this Towne to the great terror of many: About the same time that hee was executed, a Sonne of *Garret Mac Mortaghes*, named *Morris Mac Garret*, dyed of a hurt lately given him in fight, who was a most dangerous young man, like to trouble all the Countrey: The death of these two Rebels, as also of a notorious Rebell by birth, of Mounster lately slaine (called *Dermot Mac Awley*, who was an inward man, and a great practising instrument with *Tyrone*)



will greatly quiet these parts, and your Lordships can hardly thinke, what a great change wee find already by their so happy and timely cutting off. As for Sir *Finnin O drischall*, *O Donnevan*, and the two Sonnes of Sir *Owen Mac Cartie*, they and their Followers since their comming in, are growne very odious to the Rebels of those parts, and are so well divided in factions amongst themselues, as they are fallen to preying and killing one an other, which we conceiue will much availe, to the quieting of these parts. I the Deputie am this day going towards Dublin, from whence you Lordships shall heare from mee, according to the directions given mee by your Lordships: And I the President am returning into Mounster, to attend my charge there. Wee haue beene much importuned by the Army in generall, touching an abatement of halfe a pound of Beefe upon every flesh day, from every particular Souldier, and of two Herrings every fish day, and the Horse troopes likewise find themselues agrieved, that the Victuallers chargeth them with two shillings sixe pence increase in the issuing of every Barrell of Oates, without any other Warrant then a private Letter from Master *Wade*, Clerke of the Councell; which although we conceiue Master *Wade* hath signified over upon such purpose of your Lordships, or other good ground, yet in regard of importunities of the Captaines, and to prevent a generall mutiny of the Army, in regard the Souldiers are weake, and much infeeble, by the last siege of Kin-



sale, and that the prices of all things are increased aboue all measure, by reason of the new standard Coyne, and that the Countrey is generally much harried and wasted, and thereby great scarcitie and wants grow here; wee hold it meet, and accordingly gaue direction to the Commissary of the victuals, to issue Oats (as formerly) at six shillings the barrel, and allow the Souldier two pound of Beefe, and eight Herrings a day, according as it was formerly accustomed, till your Lordships resolution were returned in that behalfe, which wee humbly pray and expect. And so having no other matter at this time worthy the presenting to your Lordships, wee most humbly take leaue.

The same day after this Letter was signed, the Lord Deputie tooke his Iourney towards Dublin, but being surprised with an ill disposition of health, which so increased upon him, as that the next day he was enforced to bee caried in his Horse-litter, and so continued untill he arrived there. And the President the aforesaid day returned towards Corke, surprised with the like accident, in so much as hee was not able that night to journey any farther then unto Master *Geralt Comerfords* house, not distant from Kilkenny aboue three miles, and there it appeared that hee was in a burning feaver: Neverthelesse being transported with a desire to bee in his Province, the next day hee remooued, and so by easie journeyes, resting some



dayes upon the way, at last upon the third of Aprill hee came to Corke, but exceeding weake, and in many mens opinion in danger of death.

The Actions, Accidents, and Services of marke related in this second Booke, for the Readers better memory, I will briefly recount, which were as followeth: *viz.* The sending of Forces out of Mounster into Connaght, to withstand the entrance of Connaght and Vlster men into Mounster: The taking of *James fits Thomas*, the reputed Earle of Desmond: The apprehension of *Florence Mac Cartie*: The sending of a Regiment into Connaght for the service of that Province: The sending of *James fits Thomas* and *Florence* prisoners into England: The restraint of certaine principall Gentlemen of Mounster that were apt to rebell: The arrivall of the Spaniards at Kinsale: The Lord Deputies comming into Mounster: The siege of Kinsale: The landing of seconds from Spaine at Castlehaven: The remarkeable Sea-fight in that harbour: The revolt of divers of the Provincials: The comming of *Tyrone* and *Odonnell* to raise the siege at Kinsale: The famous victory obtayned against them, and the Spaniards: The flight of *Odonnell*, *Redmond Burke*, &c. into Spaine: The honourable and advantagious Composition: The rendering of Castle-haven, and the Castles at Baltimore unto her Majestie: The surprising of the Castle of



Donboy by *Osulevan Beare* : The transporting  
of the Spaniards into Spaine : And  
the departure of the Lord De-  
putie out of Moun-  
ster.

*The end of the second Booke.*



# *PACATA HIBERNIA.*

THE

## THIRD BOOKE

OF THE

### *WARRES IN IRELAND,*

*Whereby that Countrey was reduced to*

*Subjection and Obedience.*

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#### CHAP. I.

*The estate of the Province of Mounster after the siege of Kinsale. The Warre of Ireland censured to bee lawfully maintained by the Rebels, in the opinion of the learned men of Spaine. The Names of the Doctors of Salamanca, who censured the lawfulnesss of the Rebellion in Ireland.*

**A**Lthough the Spanyards, as is related were sent away out of Ireland, and the Province of Mounster cleared of strangers, yet to regulate and draw into order the Provincials, which were revolted, was a taske (of no small labour) for the President to undergoe, being not unlike unto the state of mens bodies, wherein Relapses are farre more dangerous then the first sicknesse. Before the comming of these Cal-



stillians, the Province (as you haue heard) was in so good conformity, as the civill Iustice (without all contradiction) had as currant passage as in any of the former yeares of Peace, and every mans cattell (without losse or danger) lay day and night in the fields: But now the Rebels, and their hyred Bownoghs swarmed every where, and especially in Carbery, Beare, Desmond, and Kerry, in so much as there was no place in them, or adjoyning unto them, free from these Catterpillers, who beholding the grievousnesse of their offences, grewe to bee desperate, concluding themselves to bee the children of perdition, and not capable of her Majesties gracious mercie, whereby their obstinacie was increased. In the tract of Land aforementioned, there was no Castles which was held for the Queene, but those which the Spanyards rendered, and guarded by the two Captaine *Harvies*, and Castle Mange in Kerry, (wherein a Guard of Sir *Charles Wilmotts* had continued all the time of the siege at Kinsale) all the rest were in the possession of the Rebels: In this distemper the Province remayned, when the Lord Deputie left the same.

But before I enter further into the progression of the affaires of Mounster, I beseech the Reader to pardon me for this ensuing digression, in the which hee may perceiue how the learned men of *Spaine* at *Salamanca*, did maintaine and approoue the Rebellion in *Ireland*, which was handled upon the seventh day of March, 1602. *Stilo novo.*



**I**N *the Name of God Amen*: The most renowned Prince *Hugh Oneale* doth make warre for the Defence of the Catholique faith with the Queene of *England*, and the English people; that is to say, that it may be lawfull for him, and the Irish freely to professe the Catholique Religion, which libertie the Queene of *England* doth endeavour to take from them by force and Armes. There are two matters now in question about this warre. The one is, whether it bee lawfull for the Irish Catholiques to favour the foresaid Prince *Hugh* with Armes, and all other meanes in this warre: The other is, whether it bee lawfull for the same Catholiques, to fight against the foresaid Prince, without deadly sin, and to favour the English in this warre, either with Armes, or by any other meanes, especially when as if they deny this kinde of helpe unto the English, they expose themselves to a manifest danger of their life, or of loosing all their temporall goods: And furthermore, since it is permitted by the Pope, that the Irish Catholiques may obey the aforesayd Queene of *England*, and acknowledge her as their lawfull Queene, by paying tribute unto her; for it seemeth that what belongeth unto Subjects to doe, may be performed, that is to say, to fight against the Queenes Rebels, which deny their due obedience to her, and seeme to usurpe the Land which is subject to her Dominion.

That both these questions may be decided, wee must hold it as for certaine, that the Romish Bishop hath power to bridle and suppress, such as forsake



the faith, and those which oppose themselves with Armes against the Catholike faith, when other meanes is not ministred to overthrow so great an evill: And further it must bee concluded for infallible, that the Queene of England doth oppugne the Catholike Religion, neither doth permit the Irish publikely to embrace the Catholike faith, and that for the same cause, the foresaid Prince and others before him, of whom the Letters Apostolicall of *Clement* the eighth make mention, did make warre against her. These being thus set downe, the first question is easily resolved, for it is questionlesse, that any Catholikes whatsoever, may favour the said Prince, *Huge Oneale*, in the foresaid warre, and the same with great merit, and hope of most great and eternall reward; for seeing that the foresaid Prince doth make warre by the authority of the high Bishop, for the defence of Catholicke religion, and that the Pope doth exhort all the faithfull by his Letters thereto (as by his Letters is manifest) and that hee will extend his graces upon the Favourers of the Prince in that warre, in as ample a manner, as if they did make warre against the Turkes, no man will in equity doubt, but that both the present warre is just, and that to fight for defence of the Catholike religion, (which is the greatest thing of all) is a matter of great merit: And concerning the second question, it is most certain, that all those Catholikes doe sinne mortally, which doe follow the English Standard against the foresaid Prince, neither can they obtain eternall salvation, nor bee absolved



of their sinnes by any Priest, except they first repent and forsake the English Army, and the same is to be censured, of those which in this warre favour the English, either with Armes or Victuals, or giue them any thing of like condition, besides those accustomed tributes which it is lawfull for them by vertue of the Popes indulgence and permission, to pay unto the Kings of England, or their officers, (so long as Catholike religion shall flourish in the same.) This assertion is confirmed by this most manifest reason, because it is sufficiently proved by the Letters of the high Bishop, that the English make unjust warre against the said *Oneale*, and those that favour him: For seeing that the Pope doth declare, that the English doe fight against the Catholike Religion, and that they should bee resisted, as much as if they were Turkes, and that hee doth bestow the same graces upon those which doe resist them; who doubteth the warre which the English make against the Catholike Army to be altogether unjust? But it is not lawfull for any to favour an unjust warre, or to be present thereat under the paine of eternall damnation. The Catholikes doe therefore most grievously offend, which doe beare Armes in the Campes of Heretikes, against the foresaid Prince, in a warre so apparantly impious and unjust, and all those which doe assist the said warre, with Armes, Victuals, or by any other meanes, which of themselues doe further the proceedings of the warre, and cannot giue account of their indifferent



obedience, neither doth it any thing availe them to scandall the Apostolicall Letters of *Surreption*, for *Surreption* cannot happen where no petition of them is declared, in whose favour they were dispatched. But the high Bishop doth openly teach in those Letters, that hee and his Predicessors, had exhorted the Irish Princes, and all faithfull men, to make that warre, and to provoke them the more thereto; hee doth enrich them with great favours, and indulgences: How may it then bee, that those Letters were surreptive, which only containe in them an exhortation, strengthened with many great favours, for such as did fulfill them; neither therefore can the Catholikes which assist the English, defend themselves by the reasons alleaged in the second question, for no mortall sinne is to bee committed; although either life or goods stand thereupon: but those things which further and helpe to execute an unjust warre are manifestly deadly sinnes. It is permitted likewise to the Catholikes, to performe such kind of obedience to the Queene, as doth not oppugne Catholike religion, neither ever was, or could it bee the meaning of the Pope, to allow them to use that obedience towards the Queene, which doth manifestly disagree with the end and scope, which hee had to spread the Catholike faith, and religion in Ireland; but that it was his meaning and scope, his Letters doe manifestly declare. By all which it remayneth sufficiently apparant, that the most famous Prince *Hugh Oneale*, and other



Catholikes of Ireland, making warre against an hereticall Queene, who opposeth her selfe against the true faith, and no Rebels at all, neither doe deny due obedience, nor vsurpe unjustly the Queenes Dominions, but rather that they doe revenge themselves and their Countrey, from impious and wicked tyrannie by a most just warre, and defend and mainetaine the holy and right faith, with all their power, as becommeth Catholikes and Christians. All and every of which, wee underwriten, doe judge and approue, as most certaine and true. *Salamanca* the seventh of March, 1602.

*Iohn* of *Segvensa*, Professor of divinitie in the Colledge of the society of Iesus, of this famous Citie of *Salamanca*, doe so censure.

I *Emanuel* of *Royas*, Professor of divinitie in the said Colledge of Iesus, doe agree in the same.

And I *Gaspar* of *Mena*, Professor of divinity and holy Scripture in the said Colledge, doe hold with the opinion of these Fathers, as being altogether true.

I *Peter Osorius*, Expounder for the sacred Canons in the same Colledge of the society of Iesu, am altogether of the same opinion, with the foresaid Fathers.

The President as is said, being returned to Corke, after a few dayes, began to recover, and finding his



strength encreased, and consequently his health, began to apply himselfe to his busines: But before I speake farther of his progressions, I must looke a little backe, to say somewhat of things past.

## CHAP. II.

*The Earle of Thomond directed to march with an Army into Carbury, and his Instructions. The Castle of Donboy fortified by the Rebels. The Earle of Thomond having placed convenient Garrisons in the West, returned to Corke. The Lord President resolved to besiege the Castle of Donboy. The List of the Army in Mounster. The Lord President advised not to enterprize the winning of the Castle of Donboy, and the reasons why. The Lord President perseueres in his resolution, and causeth the Army to march towards Donboy.*

**TO** make tryall whether the Rebels in the Countrey of Carbery, would submit themselves upon the sight of an Army, having beene lately wasted and spoyled by the Garrisons at Baltimore, Castle-haven, and Bantry; upon the ninth of March (which was the day the Lord Deputie departed from Corke;) the President directed the Earle of Thomond with two thousand and fiue hundred Foote in List (which were by the Pole but twelue hundred Foote, and fiftie Horse) to march into Carbery, and from thence into Beare, there to view in what manner the Castle of Donboy was fortified, of the incredible strength whereof much was noysed; many other directions hee had, which for the better satisfaction of the Reader, I doe here insert the instructions themselves.



*Instructions given to the Earle of Thomond, the  
nineth of March, 1601.*

**F**irst assoone as possible you may, your Lordship is to assemble your forces together, consisting of two thousand and five hundred foote in List, and fiftie Horse, and because they lye dispersed, for the more expeditions sake, to take them in your way Westward, as they are garrisoned.

The service you are to performe, is to doe all your endeavour, to burne the rebels Corne in Carbery, Beare, and Bantry, take their Cowes, and to use all hostile prosecution upon the persons of the people, as in such cases of rebellion is accustomed.

Those that are in subjection, or lately protected (as *Odrischall*, *Odonevan*, and *Sir Owen Mac Carties* Sonnes) to afford them all kind and mild vsage.

When you are in Beare, (if you may without any apparant perill) your Lordship shall doe well, to take a view of the Castle of Dunboy, whereby wee may be the better instructed how to proceed, for the taking of it, when time convenient shall be afforded.

Captaine *Flower* as I thinke is now in Bantry, very weakely accompanied, for his relief, you are to hasten towards him, and for your beter understanding to



know in what state hee is, to send presently unto him, and accordingly to proceed.

There is direction to the Victualler, to send three moneths Victuals for five hundred Foot to Baltimore, and the like proportion for Beare, and to the Master of the Ordnance, to send to either of those places, one Last of Powder, with Lead and Match proportionably; your Lordship is to call upon the Ministers of those Offices, to see the same presently sent away. The Powder and Victuall sent for Beare, is directed to Baltimore, there to stay untill the place bee known where Captaine *Flower* resteth, and from thence to bee thither directed by your Lordship.

When your Lordship hath met with Captaine *Flower*, and depart from him, you are to leaue with him five hundred Foot (or more) if in your judgement you shall thinke it requisite, and likewise the like proportion of strength to Captaine *Harvie*, (more or lesse) as in your opinion shall be thought meet.

If the Abbey of Bantrey bee the place found fittest for Captaine *Flower* to remaine in, and that the same bee so ruined, as of necessity (for the safe and well keeping of the Victualls and Munitions) cost must be bestowed, whatsoever your Lordship shall lay out for the repairing of it, upon your bill of disbursements, it shall be forthwith repaied unto you, alwayes praying you to use as little charge as possible you may: money to intelligencers, and messengers is likewise allowed.



For the Garrison at Kinsale, Victualls is likewise ordained to bee sent, whereof the Victualler must be remembered.

The capitall Rebels that are to resist you, is *Osulevan*, and *Tirrell*, your Lordship must leaue no meanes unassayed to get them aliue or dead ; the way (in my judgement) how that service may bee effected, I haue already made knowne to your Lordship, wherein I pray you to use your best indeavours.

Giue all the comfort you may to *Owen Osulevan*, by whose meanes you know the affaires of those parts will be best composed,

*Dermond Moyle Mac Cartie* is most assisted by the *Ocrowlyes*, haue a speciall care to prosecute and plague him and his assistants, and if you can finde any good meanes to worke upon him, spare not your endeavour : Sir *Owen Mac Carties* sonnes (if they bee well handled) will proue the best meanes, knowing as you doe, that hee stands betweene them and the Lord of the Countrey.

If *Teg Onorsies* Castle, and *Rannell Duffes* shall in your opinion bee meet for the Service, doe you take them into your hands, and leaue wards in them ; but let not your intent bee discovered, untill you be possessed of them.



The like you are to doe with *Donneshed*, Sir *Finnin Odrischalls* house, in the which (of necessitie) I thinke the store of Victuals and Munitions for the garrison of Baltimore, must be layed, for the Castle of Donnelong, where *Roger Harvie* is, is too little for that purpose.

Lastly, I pray your Lordship, of all your proceedings to giue me as often advertisement as you may, and haue correspondencie with Sir *Charles Wilmot*, for betweene your two Forces, all the Mounster Rebels remaine.

The Earle being gone with his Armie, marched as farre as the Abbey of Bantrie, about threescore miles from Corke, and there had notice, that *Donnell Osulevan Beare* and his people, by the advice of two Spanyards, an Italian, and a Fryer called *Dominicke Collins*, did still continue their workes about the Castle of Dunboy; the Barbican whereof being a stone wall of sixteene foot in height, they faced with soddes intermingled with wood and faggots (aboue foure and twenty foot thick) for a defence against the Cannon; they had also sunke a low Plat-forme to plant their Ordnance for a counter-battery, and left nothing undone, either within or without the Castle, that in their opinions was meet for defence: But when it came to tryall, it appeared that their Iudgements fayled, (as after you shall heare) For the



Barbican was not above six or eight foot distant from the Castle, the height whereof was exceeding high, not remembring that the ruines thereof would quickly fill the voyd space betweene them, and make a faire assault when a breach was made, whereby all their earth and sodd workes proved vaine and fruitlesse, not so much as one Cannon shott being bestowed upon them, but as neere as the Cannoniers could take their aymes above it, as the President had directed. *Tirrell* in this meane time with the other Bownoghs had so well placed themselues in the mountaines of Beare, that hee could not with his Armie passe any farther without apparant danger: Heereupon the Earle left with Captaine *George Flower*, besides his owne Company, the Companies of Sir *John Dowdall*, the Lord *Barry*, Captain *Francis Kingsmill*, Captaine *Bostock*, and Captaine *Bradbury*, which were seven hundred men in List, in the Whiddy, (an Iland lying within the Bay of Bantrie) very convenient for the Service, and himselfe with the rest of his Forces returned to Corke, where having made relation of the particulars of his journey, it was found necessary that the President without any protractions or delay, should draw all the Forces in the Province to a head against them; And although the time of the yeere was not so convenient, (the Spring being newly begun) ye present order was taken for all the Armie to repaire unto Corke, except those which Sir *Charles Wilmott* did imploy for the reduction of Kerry: Vpon a longer



delay a double inconvenience depended : First, her Majestie should be burthened with a greater charge ; and secondly, though the Spaniards had an intention of sending another Army, yet if they might bee certified that the Castle of Donboy was taken, which was the onely possession which they had in Ireland, and the Countrey reduced to her Majesties Obedience before they were put to Sea, it might peradventure perswade them to new Councils, and alter the former Determinations,

But before I proceed any farther, it is pertinent to set downe the Forces which the Lord Deputy left for the prosecution of the warre in Mounster, which as they stood in List, (but very weake by the Pole) was as followeth :

#### Of Horse,

|                                 |     |
|---------------------------------|-----|
| The Lord <i>President</i> .     | 100 |
| The Earle of <i>Thomond</i> .   | 100 |
| Sir <i>Charles Wilmot</i> .     | 25  |
| Sir <i>Anthony Cooke</i> .      | 50  |
| Captaine <i>William Taffe</i> . | 50  |

#### Of Foot,

|                                 |     |
|---------------------------------|-----|
| ☞ The Lord <i>President</i> .   | 200 |
| ☞ The Earle of <i>Thomond</i> . | 200 |



|                                     |     |
|-------------------------------------|-----|
| The Lord <i>Barry</i> .             | 100 |
| ☞ The Lord <i>Audley</i> .          | 150 |
| ☞ Sir <i>Richard Percy</i> .        | 150 |
| ☞ Sir <i>Charles Wilmot</i> .       | 150 |
| Sir <i>George Thornton</i> .        | 100 |
| Sir <i>Gerard Harvie</i> .          | 150 |
| Sir <i>Francis Barkley</i> .        | 150 |
| Sir <i>Iohn Dowdall</i> .           | 150 |
| Sir <i>Samuel Bagnall</i> .         | 150 |
| Sir <i>Anthony Cooke</i> .          | 150 |
| Sir <i>Alexander Clifford</i> .     | 150 |
| Sir <i>Arthur Savage</i> .          | 150 |
| The <i>White Knight</i> .           | 100 |
| Captaine <i>Roger Harvie</i> .      | 150 |
| Captaine <i>George Flower</i> .     | 150 |
| Captaine <i>William Saxey</i> .     | 100 |
| Captaine <i>Francis Slingsby</i> .  | 100 |
| Captaine <i>Henry Skipwith</i> .    | 100 |
| Captaine <i>Francis Hobby</i> .     | 100 |
| Captaine <i>Francis Kingsmill</i> . | 100 |
| Captaine <i>William Power</i> .     | 100 |
| Captaine <i>George Kingsmill</i> .  | 100 |
| Captaine <i>Robert Collome</i> .    | 100 |
| Captaine <i>Iohn Bostock</i> .      | 100 |
| Captaine <i>Gawen Harvie</i> .      | 100 |
| Captaine <i>Charles Cooke</i> .     | 100 |
| Captaine <i>William Stafford</i> .  | 100 |
| Captaine <i>Iohn Owsley</i> .       | 100 |
| Captaine <i>George Blundell</i> .   | 100 |
| Captaine <i>Edward Dodington</i> .  | 100 |



|          |                      |     |
|----------|----------------------|-----|
| Captaine | <i>Ralfe Sidley.</i> | 100 |
| Captaine | <i>Thomas Bois.</i>  | 100 |
| Captaine | <i>Holcroft.</i>     | 100 |

|        |         |      |
|--------|---------|------|
| In all | { Horse | 325  |
|        | { Foot  | 4400 |

The enterprize of the siege of Donboy was by the best Subjects of the land, and by the Presidents particular friends dissuaded; the one in regard of the publique, and the other in the loue they bare him: and also out of England had hee advice, that hee should bee very wary how hee proceeded, lest hee should faile in the enterprize; whereby the Queene and State, should undergoe a fruitlesse charge and scorne; for by all men it was thought, that the place was impregnable, by reason of the situation of it: Whereunto no approach by land forces could be made, neerer then the Bay of Bantry, being short of Donboy foure and twenty miles, the wayes being in many places so impassable for horse and cariages, and in some places such straights and craggie rocks, as it was impossible for men to march but in file, whereby one hundred that were to make defence, might forbid an Army to passe: if hee purposed to transport his Army by Sea, that hee should find no landing place for his Ordnance neere unto it, and being landed, the wit of man was not able (without an infinite number of Pioners) to draw them unto the Castle; for all the



grounds neere unto it, were either bog, or rocks, and also that there was no conveniencie of ground to encampe in, no good water neere, nor wood for necessary use, or gabion stuffe within three miles of it: The Earle of Ormond in his loue both to the service, and to the President, wrote unto him a disswading Letter, for the causes afore recited, and therefore advised him to forbear the Enterprize: But the President foreseeing the importance of the service, and prophesying (as it fell out) that the winning of that place would discourage the Spaniards from any new invasion, gaue but a deafe eare to all perswasions, hoping that hee should find the difficulties lesse then they were beleaved or related unto him: The well affected Irish (fearing the event) solicited him vehemently not to attempt it; his answers were, that bogs nor rocks, should forbid the draught of the Cannon; the one hee would make passable by Faggots and Timber, the other hee would breake and smooth with pyoners tooles; and with this constant resolution hee caused the Army to bee assembled, which at Corke was in list neere three thousand, but by pole not exceeding fifteene hundred, by reason the Companies had beene extreameley weakned, by the long cold and hungry winter siege: The President (though feeble and weake in his owne estate of health) drew forth of Corke the three and twentieth of Aprill, 1602. and encamped that night at Owneboy, being the very place where *Tyrone* lodged, at such time as hee received the great overthrow neere Kinsale.



The foure and twentieth wee rose and marched to Tymolegge, where the Army lodged, and three Rebels that were taken, and brought before the Lord President were executed.

The fiue and twentieth wee drew to Roscarbry, where our Army lodged.

The sixe and twentieth wee departed Rosse over the Leape to Glanbarahan neere Castle-haven, where the Army encamped, and the Lord President went to Castle-haven to view the Castle and harbour, not removing Captaine *Gawen Harvie* his Company (who had the guard thereof) from thence.

The seven and twentieth the Army dislodged, and the Lord President with his Regiment drew to Baltimore, and the Earle of Thomond and Sir *Richard Percy*, with their Regiments drew to a Castle called the Ould-court, three miles from Baltimore, where (by reason of revictualling of the Army) we lodged two nights, in which time the Lord President tooke view of the Harbour thereof, and was ferried over into the Iland of Innisheseerkan, where hee likewise tooke view thereof, and sent to the Iland of Cleere, and the Sound betweene them not removing Captaine *Roger Harvies* Company thence, they being divided to guard the Castles of *Donneshed*, *Donnelonge*, and *Cape-Cleere*.



The nine and twentieth wee encamped on the Mountaine at a place called *Recarenelltaghe* neere unto Kilcoa, being a Castle wherein the Rebelle *Conoghor* eldest Sonne to Sir *Finnin Odrischall* Knight held a Ward.

The thirtieth the Army dislodged, and drew to *Carew* Castle, built in ancient time by the Lord Presidents Ancestors, and by the Irish called *Downe-marke*, or the Marques his house, being two miles distant from the Abbey of Bantry, where wee sate downe, aswell to giue annoyance to the Rebels, as to tarry the comming of the shipping with victuals, munition, and Ordnance; at which place Captaine *George Flower* with his Garrison (left there by the Earle of Thomond) fell in unto us.

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### CHAP. III.

*Divers spoyles done to the Enemy. A Letter from the Lord President to the Spanish Cannoniers in Donboy. Captaine Bostock and Captaine Barry sent to Sir Charles Wilmot. A Digression of Sir Charles Wilmots proceedings in Kerry. Divers Rebels slaine. A traitorly Souldier hanged. A Ward put into Carigfoile. The Castle of Lixnaw taken by composition. The Castle of Ballihow taken, and the Knight of Kerry defeated. Castle Gregory and Rahane taken.*

**T**HE first of May, Captaine *Taffes* troop of Horse with certaine light foote were sent from the Campe, who returned with three hundred Cowes, many Sheepe, and a great number of Garrans they got from the Rebels.



The second Captaine *Iohn Barry* brought into the Campe five hundred Cowes, three hundred Sheepe, three hundred Garrans, and had the killing of five Rebels; and the same day wee procured skirmish in the edge of their Fastnesse with the rebels, but no hurt of our part.

The third *Owen Osulevan* and his Brothers, Sonnes to Sir *Owen Osulevan* (who stand firme, and deserved well of her Majestie, being Competitours with *Osu-levan Beare*) brought some fiftie Cowes, and some sheepe from the Enemy into the Campe.

The fourth, *Odalie* was convented before the Lord President and Councill, and in regard it was proved that hee came from the rebels, with messages and offers to *Owen Osulevan*, to adhere and combine with the Enemy, which the said *Owen* did first reveale to Captaine *Flower*, Sergeant Major of the Army, and after publikely justified it to *Odalies* face; the said *Odaly* was committed to attend his tryall at the next Sessions.

This *Odalies* Ancestor had the county of Moynter-bary given unto him by the Lord Presidents Ancestor, many hundred yeares past, at which time *Carew* had to his inheritance, the moiety of the whole kingdome of Corke, which was first given by King *Henry* the second unto *Robert fits Stephen*; the service which *Odaly* and his Progenie were to doe, for so large a



proportion of Lands unto *Carew* and his successors, was (according to the custome of that time) to bee their Rimers, or Chroniclers of their actions.

The fift and sixt, the weather was so tempestuous, that we could not stirre out of the quarter.

The seventh, the Lord President understanding that the Spanish Cannoniers were still in Donboy, as well in regard they were strangers, but especially to depriue the Enemy of their service; hee wrote a Letter in Spanish unto them, to perswade them to relinquish the Rebells, assuring them, that they should not onely come safe, and remaine safely with him, but that hee would embarque them for *Spaine*. This Letter by the meanes of *Owen Osulevan*, was delivered unto them; but as it appeared, they little deserved the favour proffered; for if they had pleased they might haue made an escape: but at last when the Castle was taken, they payed the price of their inconsiderate obstinacie: The Letter (Englished) was thus.

*A Letter from the Lord President to the Spanish Cannoniers in Dunboy.*

**W**Hen *Don Iuan de Aguila* (Generall for the Spanish Armie for his Majestie in *Ireland*) departed from the Citie of Corke, having a care of your safeties, requested mee to favour you, saying, That contrary to your willes the Traytor *Donnell Osulevan* (by force) held you in his Castle of Dunboy, there to serue him



as Cannoniers : I now calling to mind his desire, (in the loue I beare him, being so great a Captaine, and so honourable a Person as he is) and in consideration of the promise I made him, doe write this Letter unto you, promising (for the reasons before mentioned) that when I shall sit downe (with my forces) before the castle (where you are) if then you will quitt the same and come unto mee, I will, by the faith of a Gentleman, and a Christian, make good my promise to *Don Iuan de Aguila* ; not onely to secure you in comming to me, and in the like safetie to bee with mee, but also to relieue and supply your wants, and likewise at your pleasure, to accommodate you with a Ship, and my Pasport, safely to passe into *Spaine*, in such manner as hath been already accomplished to the rest of the Spanyards that are returned to their Countrey : This aboue written I am obliged by my promise to *Don Iohn* to fulfill. But if you haue a desire to finde or receiue further favours at my hands, you may with facilitie deserue it, that is, when you leaue the Castle to cloy the Ordnance, or mayme their Carriages, that when they shall haue need of them, they may prooue uselesse, for the which I will forthwith liberally recompense you answerable to the qualitie of your merit. Lastly, if there bee in your companies any strangers, (English and Irish excepted) which are likewise by force held (as you are) these my letters shall be sufficient to secure their repaire to me, and also to depart, as hath beene before mentioned, conditionally, that you and they present your selues unto mee, before



our Ordnance shall begin to batter the Castle of Donboy aforesayed: But if on your part default be made, I holde myselfe clearly acquitted of my promise made to *Don Iohn*, and to bee free from breach of faith on my part, and you ever after incapable of this favour of my promised offer. Returne me your answer by this bearer in writing, or by some other in whom you haue more confidence. From the Campe neere Bantrie the seventh of May, 1602.

*To the Spanyards held by force  
in the Castle of Dunboy.*

The eighth, the Lord President sent foorth three hundred light Footmen secretly by night through the Enemies Fastnesse, under the commaund of Captaine *Iohn Bostock*, and *Iohn Barry*, with commaundement that they should make their repayre to Ardentully, *Mac Finnees* house, and there joyne those Forces with Sir *Charles Wilmotts* Regiment; who being united, *Terrill* and the rest of the Irish Rebels, (who before had vaunted, that they would keepe our Armie from joyning together, and lay in a place of advantage fit for that purpose) were so discomforted, as they did quit the strength they possest, and sought onely to avoyd our Forces, but no way to resist or interrupt them

But now leaving the progression towards Donboy for a while, expecting faire weather and prosperous winds, to bring our provisions from Corke by Sea:



Wee will by way of digression say somewhat of Sir *Charles Wilmots* proceedings in Kerry, before his comming into our Campe: It may therefore please the Reader to understand, that the Army being risen from before Kinsale, the Irish defeated, the composition made with the Spanish Generall, and the forces returned to Corke; The Lord President about the beginning of February dispatched Sir *Charles Wilmot* with a Regiment of one thousand and seven hundred Foote in list, but by pole very weake, and a troope of Horse, into his former government of Kerry, not doubting but hee which had the skill to cure the former rebellious diseases of that Countrey, could also recure the residuation thereof: In his passage betweene Askeiton and the Glen: *Hugh Mac Swyne* (with the *Oconnors* and *Oneales*) possessed a place through which hee must necessarily passe, whereof being advertised, hee lodged short of the Wood an English mile, and rising before day-light, he assayled them in their quarter, where hee slew twelue of their men, tooke all their baggage and horses, with fiftie of their Armes, and chased them three miles, but they were too swift of foote; had it not been for a Con-naght man of the White Knight's company, who purposely discharged his Peece to giue them warning, whereat they tooke an alarme, they had beene (as it was afterward confessed) all (to the number of two hundred) surprised sleeping: The Traytor (as he well deserved) was hanged for his labour: The Castle of Carrigfoyle hee found empty and ruined; neverthe-



lesse hee left a Ward in it, and gaue the charge thereof unto Captaine *Collum* : when hee came to the river of Cassan, which he passed the same day with some difficultie, being enforced to swim his horses : At which time *Iohn fits Thomas*, young Captaine *Tirrell*, *Hugh Mac Swyne*, *Owen Omaylie*, *Rorie Oconnor*, *Phelim O Connor*, and *Gerald fits Maurice*, Brother to *Fits Maurice* the Barron of Lixnaw with fve hundred foote and a few horse, assembled at Lixnaw neere unto it, to haue stopped his passage over the Cassan ; *Fitz Maurice* himselfe being then gone into Desmond, to perswade *Donnell Mac Cartie*, *Donnell Osulevan*, and *William Burke*, to draw to the rest, to hinder his passage as aforesaid ; but before they had knowledge of his being neere unto them, hee made such expedition as hee was gotten over the River.

And within a few dayes after, hearing that the Lord of Lixnaw was in Lixnaw Castle hee marched thither, and ere hee was set downe before it ; *Fits Morris* fearing to bee shut up in his Castle, although hee had a strong Guard of fve and fourtie good men well victualled in it, leaving his Brother for his Constable, he posted into Desmond to procure aids from *Osulevan Beare*, for the releefe of the same : The Castle stands close to the rivers side, there being but a Pikes length of ground betweene them, which made the Ward negligent to haue any store of water aforehand, thinking they might fetch it at their pleasure : Sir



*Charles* having knowledge thereof, by a woman which came from them, hee found the meanes to place a choise part of men upon that little plot of ground, whereby the Ward could get no water; in which attempt, Lieutenant *Russell* who served under Capitaine *William Saxey*, and one Souldier was slaine: The Ward by this meanes debarred of water, rendered the place upon composition, which Sir *Charles* yeelded unto, that hee might prosecute services of more importance.

And being now come to Castle-mange, wherein hee had left a Ward before the siege of Kinsale, sent the one halfe of his Companies of horse and foote into the Knight of Kerries countrey (who as the rest in those parts were relapsed into rebellion) to prey the same, and to driue the cattle (they should take) to the Dingle; and for their succours (if need required) himselfe with the remainder of his forces marched after them, as farr as Ballyhow, ten miles from Castle-mange, where hee found the Knight of Kerry with one hundred of his owne Followers, and two hundred Bonoghs, upon a bog not halfe a mile from the Castle, where the Knight had a Ward: To draw him to hard ground, in his sight a few men were appoynted to assault the Castle, himselfe with his foote and horse standing in a body without moving; the Souldiers fired the Castle doore, and within three houres possest themselues of it: The Knight all this while stood at gaze: the Castle being wonne, Sir *Charles* drew



towards him, to procure him to fight, hee finding the advantage of the ground hee was in, where the Horse could not harme him, charged our troopes: Sir *Charles* seeing himselfe engaged, and in danger if hee should retraite, drew up his Colours to the head of his Pikes, and joyned with the Enemy; it was long disputed whether should haue the better, and with pike and sword, betweene them twentie were hurt and slaine; the Horsemen seeing how doubtfull the successe was, valiantly and resolutely alighted from their horses, upon whose comming the Enemy fled, and were chased more then a mile, but their footemanship was too good for us, and in the chase very few of them were slaine: in this Encounter *Phelim Oconnor* was killed, and all the Chiefes amongst them (the Knight excepted) were hurt: the next day Sir *Charles* leaving his foote at Ballihow, rode to the Dingle, at whose comming thither, numbers of people repaired unto him, humbly imploring her Majesties gracious protection: The fifth of March hee also tooke from the Knight of Kerry, Castle Gregory, and the Rahane his chiefe mannor house: And lastly hunting him as a Fox (whose earth is stopped) pursued the sent so freshly, that he constrained him to a new covert, following the Lord of Lixnaw into the Mountaines of *Desmond*.



## CHAP. IV.

*The forces which the Rebels had in Kerry in bonaght. The voluntary submission of Donnell Mac Cartie. Sir Charles Wilmot required by the Lord President to come to the Campe at Carew Castle. A great prey taken from Osulevan Mores sonnes. The Knight of Kerry upon humble suite protected. Sir Charles Wilmot with the forces of Kerry, and the munitions and victuals from Corke arrived at the Campe then at Carew Castle. Munition and victuals sent by the Lord President to the Lord Deputie. Dermond Moyle Mac Cartie brother to Florence Mac Cartie slaine.*

AFTER these good successes many of the Countrey (as their manner is to take part with the strongest) submitted themselues unto the Governour, the principall amongst whom, was *Dermond Osulevan*, brother to *Osulevan More*, by whom hee understood the force of the Rebels there, namely the Barron of *Lixnaw*, in his Countrey of *Clanmorris*, had entertayned *William Burke* with three hundred *Bonnoghs*, the Knight of *Kerry* as many under *Mac Cabs Sonnes*, and the *Mac Swynes*, and *Donnell Mac Cartie* (vsurping againe the title and possessions of *Mac Cartie More*, with the helpe of the *Osulevans*) gaue bonnaght to Captaine *Tirrell* with foure hundred men, so that their forces were one thousand strangers.

At this time Sir *Charles Wilmot* had certaine traffique with *William Burke*, who seemed very desirous to become a Subject: The Governour required him to doe such service, as might merit both his pardon and reward, which hee yeelded unto, yet with



limitations, namely that hee would never betray the liues of any, but hee would undertake to get into his hands all the prey of Kerry and Desmond, and deliver the one halfe to the Garrison, so that he might haue licence to depart into Connaght with the rest.

The Governour in the interim of this entercourse surceased not to follow the prosecution of *Fits Morris*, and prevailed so well therein, that having slaine many of his kerne, and gotten all his Tenants into subjection, hee banished him the Countrey of Clanmorris, and caused him to fly for his safetie into Desmond: Hereupon *Donnell Mac Cartie*, who bare a good affection to the Lord President (since his former submission) and relying much also upon the Governours kindnesse, whereof before times hee had good experience, without any capitulation or protection, came in his owne person to Sir *Charles*, and brought with him five thousand Cowes, besides sheepe and garrans in great numbers: The Governour hereby perceiving his loyall simplicity, would take no advantages against him, but gaue him all countenance and contentment that his place could afford.

The Governour having cleared all Kerry, so that no Enemy was left upon his backe, drew the forces towards Desmond about the middle of *Aprill*, to pursue such Services as that Mountainous and desolate Countrey would permit him to effect. But by reason of the dangerous passages (the whole Countrey being



nothing else but mountaines, woods, and boggs) hee thought it not safe to adventure any further then Listree, a Castle seated twelue myles within *Desmond*; whilst hee remayned there in campe, hee received Letters from the President, giving him to understand of his journey to Donboy, and how farre hee was proceeded therein, willing him to take the best order that hee could for the speedy setling of those parts, that hee might repayre unto him (upon a day assigned) to *Carew* Castle. The Rebells receiving also notice, that the President was marched so neere to the Countrey of Beare, withdrew themselves out of *Desmond* (as before) into *Glangarve*, whereby opportunitie was offered to the Governour of performing some good service: For *Donnell Osulevan* Sonne to *Osulevan More*, a malicious Rebell, remained with great store of cattell, and certaine Kerne in *Iuragh*; which being made knowen to Sir *Charles*, upon the fifth of *May* hee secretly dispatched a partie of men, which burnt and spoyled all the Countrey, and returned with foure thousand Cowes, besides Sheepe and Garrans. The Knight of Kerry finding that the Queenes forces prospered so well, and that the Rebells were daily impouerished and distressed, sought in all humble and submissiue manner for protection, promising the best security that could be deuised for his future loyaltie, which the Governour was the more willing to accept, because those parts should enjoy thereby a more quiet establishment during his absence with the President. These things thus ordered,



hee onely entended his meeting with the Presidents Armie; many difficulties appearing to giue impediment thereunto: for the Rebells knowing that these forces should joyne, and that there was no way for Sir *Charles* to march, but by the Abbey of Erillah, and so over the Mangart, a most hideous and uncouth Mountaine, they plashed and manned all the places, straights and advantages thereof, giving forth, that they would set up their rest, and either kill, or bee killed, before they would permit him to passe: But to proceed.

The ninth, the Lord President went over into the Iland, Whiddy, to take view thereof, and returned to the Campe that night, and the tenth rode towards the mouth of the harbour, to see the entrie thereof.

The eleventh, the President drew foorth all the Regiments, leaving onely a competent number to guard the Quarter in his absence, and marched two myles from the Campe, beyond *Carrignesse*, to the edge of the Straight, where *Tirrell* with the Rebells were lodged, to giue disturbance to Sir *Charles Wilmotts* comming to the Campe, to the intent if the Enemy had given upon Sir *Charles*, he might giue him Seconds: But the passage was quitted, and the Forces came through the same without any blowe; and the very same day the Ships arrived in the Harbour, which brought about the Victualls, and Munitions from Corke, it breeding great gladnesse to the



Army, then being in so great want, as that wee must haue beene enforced within two dayes to haue returned towards Baltimore.

The twelfth, the Lord President received Letters from the Lord Deputie by *Iohn Pavie* his servant, whereby hee was required to send a great proportion of Munition and Victuals out of his Province to his Lordship, which hee performed accordingly, and returned his man : The same day also the Hoy which brought about the Ordnance, and the Trinitie, (belonging to *Iames Goagh* of Waterford) with the remainder of the Munitions and victuals, which was left for her Guard, both safely arrived at *Carew* Castle, where we still encamped.

The thirteenth, whilst we were thus detayned by unseasonable weather, there was a notorious Rebell accidentally slaine upon this occasion : The President at his comming from Corke, had commaunded all the Subjects in Kinalmecha, Kirrywherry, and Kinaley, to draw the Cattell Northwards, into the plaine towards Yoghall, and Castle-lyons, because if the Rebels should draw thitherwards, while he was at the siege of Donboy, they might not receiue any reliefe from those parts, amongst the which *Mac Cartie Reugh* would not driue away his cattell, pretending to keepe them secure from the Rebels, under the garrison of Kinsale; and indeed the reason was, because the principall Rebels in Carbery, being his



deare friends, and neere kinsmen, he did not stand in feare to receiue any dammage from them: But it fell out, that *Dermond Moyle Mac Cartie*, *Florence* his brother, being distressed for want of Victuall for himselfe and his followers, having no other meanes to supply his wants, thought to make bold with his Cozen *Mac Cartie* for a few Cowes, and therefore came amongst his Tenants with thirtie men in his company, and seazing upon some part of their prey, offered to retyre toward his Fastnesse. The Churles that attended those cattell, raised the crie, whereupon some fourty of the Country, with such furniture as came next to hand, speedily followed in rescue of their goods. The Rebells not fearing any Enemy, made no great haste away, and thereby being soone overtaken; these sought to rescue their prey, and they to defend them, in such sort, that in processe they fell to a light skirmish, and not many shot made before one lighted upon the chief Rebell *Dermond*, and killed him dead in the place, which being knowen, it bred no lesse astonishment in the one partie, then in the other, all the country being equally grieved for the losse of such a principall Pillar of the Catholique Cause, and therefore conveying his corpes to the Abbey of *Timoleg*, was there interred by a Fryer, in great solemnitie: *Mac Cartie Reugh* sent present Letters hereof to the President, signifying the vigilant care, and unpartiall regard that hee carried against the Rebells, which his Lordship might well perceive by his service against his neerest kins-



man, and the President was content to giue him thanks, although he knew how little he had deserved the same.

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## CHAPTER V.

*A resolution in Councell that the Army should be transported by Sea to the great Iland, and from thence to the Maine. The Rebell Tirrell desirous to parley with the Lord President. All our horse sent from the Campe to guard Kinsale, and likewise certaine foote. Tirrell failed twice to parley with the Earle of Thomond, and the cause why.*

THE fourteenth, the Lord President, the Councell, and the better sort of the Captaines assembled together, and consulted touching the way for the conduct of the Army to Beare-haven, where in regard the way by land was found impassible as aforesaid; for that the passage must bee made through such huge rocks, Mountaines, Bogs, and straights, as it was not possible for a man to march, carrie Armes, and use his weapons if hee should haue occasion to fight, much lesse to carrie any victuals, munition, or baggage; and for that also *Owen Osulevan*, and all the other Gentlemen, that best knew the Countrey, did describe the same to bee so full of dangerous and unavoidable straights, as the Enemy being first possessed thereof, they might with the twentieth part of the force they had there, giue annoyance and impediment to the greatest Army: for which and other reasons it was resolved by a generall consent,



that the Army should be transported over the Arme of the Sea, to the great Iland, and from thence to passe to the Maine.

The fifteenth, the Traytor *Tirrell* sent two of his most trusty friends into the Campe, as Messengers to the Lord President, to invite and pray a parley the day following with his Lordship, which hee refused; then hee desired that he might speake with the Earle of Thomond, which was granted at a place upon the edge of a River, about a mile distant from our Campe; And the same day Captaine *Taffe*, with his troope of Horse, all our cariage, garrans and drivers, and one hundred choice foote, selected out of all our Regiments, were sent backe to the Castle ny Parke to guard the Towne of Kinsale, and the Ordnance there; Captaine *Hobbie* and Captaine *Skipwith* being there before with their two weake Companies, not thought sufficient in this uncertaine time to secure those places.

The sixteenth the Earle of Thomond, well attended, drew forth his Regiment, and went to the assigned place, but *Tirrell* failing to be there, excused by his former Messengers his not comming, by the approach of the evening, praying his Lordships patience, promising there to attend his Lordship the next morning.



The seventeenth, the Earle, the second time (according to promise) drew downe to the appoynted place, where *Tirrell* onely made a shew of his whole force on the other side the River, in the view of our Army, but never came to the place where the Earle was, whose treacherous intent the Earle perceiving, and scorning to expect any other issue returned to the Campe; *Tirrell* as afterwards we understood would faine haue gone to the Earle, but the Iesuit *Archer*, *Fits Maurice*, and *Donnell Osulevan* would not permit him.

From the seventeenth to the sixe and twenty nothing hapned worthy note, only we were detayned in our campe with contrary winds, and with strange unseasonable and tempestuous weather.

The sixe and twentieth the wind turned faire, and the shipping drew forth, but immediately the weather proved so tempestuous, that they were constrayned to returne to their former rode; and the same day a Sergeant of the Earle of *Thomonds*, with a partie of his Company, drew to Down-Manus, whence he brought a prey of three score and sixe Cowes, with a great many of Garrans.

The seven and twentieth, the eight and twentieth, the nine aud twentieth and the thirtieth, wee were detayned with like contrary winds, and unseasonable fowle and stormy weather.



## CHAPTER VI.

*The Army dislodged from Carew Castle. The Regiments transported into the great Iland. Teg Keugh Mac Maghon slaine. The Castle of Donmanus surprised. A Spanish ship arrived. The conference betweene the Earle of Thomond and Richard Mac Goghagan. The Lord President rides to the place where the forces were to land. The vigilant care of the Lord President. Two Regiments directed to land in the little Iland, the other two to make to the Maine. The Rebels deceived. The Rebels defeated, and Captaine Tirrell wounded.*

THE one and thirtieth, the weather grew faire, and wee tooke advantage thereof, and drew forth, which day our Army dislodged from *Carew Castle*, leaving our sicke men (which were many) with a strong guard in the Iland of *Whyddy*, and marched to *Kilnamenoghe* on the Sea side in *Mountervarry*, where we encamped that night.

The first of *Iune*, the Earle of *Thomond* and his Regiment were imbarqued for the great Iland, as also Sir *Charles Wilmott* and his Regiment, after whose departure, the Lord President remooved his campe to a head-land, three parts whereof were invironed with the Sea, and the rest was intrenched.

The second Sir *Richard Percie* and his Regiment followed the other two; and lastly the Lord President with his landed in the great Iland, where the other Regiments were formerly arrived.



The Lord President being wearied with his long stay there, spending the time without advancing the service, for that the Hoy wherein the Peeces of Battery was, could not so well turne to windward as the rest, without which hee could effect nothing of his intended service, sent Captaine *Slingsby* aboard (who had been before conversant in Sea-affaires) to use his best diligence in getting those vessells to the great Iland neere to the Castle of Donboy, which with towing the Hoy at the Sterne of the Trinitie of Waterford, and other diligence used, hee effected the service, and arrived at the great Iland,

The third, *Teg Keugh Mac Maghon*, a principall Rebelle (in an Iland adjoining to the Dorseys) was casually shot through the body by his owne sonne, whereof he dyed the third day following.

The fourth, *Owen Osulevan*, and two of his brothers with a partie of men, went to the Castle of *Donmanus*, which was held and guarded by the Rebels, which they surprized, and kept the same, killed foure of the Guard, and tooke the prey and spoyle of the Towne,

The fifth, a Spanish ship arrived at the Bay of Camnarra, neere Ardea in Desmond.

And the same day *Richard Mac Goghagan* (being the Constable of Dunboy) came into the great Iland,



and spake with the Earle of Thomond; but whether he were sent by the Presidents intreatie, to see whether he could persuade with *Mac Goghagan* vpon promise of reward, to render the Castle to the Queene, or whether *Richard Mac Goghagan* did intreat the Earle, that he might haue a Safe-conduct to speake with him, I am uncertaine, but of this I am sure, that the Earles meeting with him was not without the Presidents knowledge and allowance: All the Eloquence and artifice which the Earle could use avayled nothing; for *Mac Goghagan* was resolved to persevere in his wayes, and in the great loue which he pretended to beare unto the Earle, hee advised him not to hazard his life, in landing upon the Mayne: for I know (sayd hee) you must land at yonder Sandy Bay, where before your comming, the place will bee so trenched and gabioned, as you must runne upon assured death: The Earle disdayning both his obstinacie, and his vaine-glorious advice, brake off his speech, telling *Mac Goghegan*, that ere many dayes passed, he would repent that he had not followed his counsell.

The sixth being Sunday, a foule and stormie morning, the Lord President very early taking but one Footman with him, rode two or three miles from the Campe, to the place where the Boats were assembled to passe the Army (which that day was to rise) over into the Maine: The cause which moved him to be stirring so timely, was to view the landing



place, which was lesse than half a mile from the place of the imbarquing, from whence hee might easily discerne a low sandy Bay, betweene high ground, of a very little capacitie, where the discent was to bee made, which was entrenched and barricadoed with gabions of earth; in the which trench and behind the gabions, the enemies had placed three Muskettiers, and their grosse at hand, to giue them seconds: But not contented with a view so farre off, the Queenes Pinnace the Merlin, riding not farre from him, hee commanded Captaine *Flemming* to passe him over into a little Iland called *Donghe Irish*, which lay betweene the great Iland and the Maine, and some part of it not twelue score from the sandy Bay aforesaid: When hee came into the said Iland, and taking an exact view of the landing place, and how the rebells Army lodged to forbid our descent, and the apparent danger hee saw would ensue in the attempt, hee rounded all the small Iland, and at last hee found a convenient place to land in the Maine; and the same (by reason of a rising ground in the midst thereof) was out of the sight of the sandy Bay: presently hee commanded Captaine *Fleming* to land (out of his Pinnace) in the Iland two falcons of brasse, and hailed them upon their trunks to a place naturally formed like a platforme, and parapetted with an old ditch, as if it had been fashioned to that purpose: In this place the Peeces were planted; from it to the Maine land, it was not aboue one hundred paces; and although the distance from the sandy



Bay to this place, was not foure and twenty score, yet to come unto it was more then halfe a mile, by reason of a Gurt, or cleft Rock, made by the Sea; which ran up farre into the land, which the Enemy must compasse before hee could come unto it: By that time that the President had performed as much as hee intended in the small Iland, the Presidents and the Earle of Thomonds regiments were imbarqued, and under saile, whom the President (when they came neere unto him) caused to land where hee stood in the small Iland, and drawing them to that end of the same which faced the sandy Bay to amuse the rebels, being not distant from them (as is said) a Musket shot, hee formed them into a battallion; and so stood firme confronting the Enemy, as if from thence hee would passe them into the Maine: Sir *Richard Percy*, and Sir *Charles Wilmot* with the reare Regiments (by this time) were likewise imbarqued.

For you must understand that wee had not Boats sufficient to transport all our Regiments at once, and they likewise made to the small Iland, but in stead of landing in the same, the President directed them to passe by the end of it (when hee had placed the faulcons) and to land directly in the Maine; before the Rebels found themselves deceived, the two reare Regiments were landed, and formed into order ready to fight; then the President drew his owne, and the Earle of *Thomonds* regiments to the boats, not twelue



score from them, which the Rebels perceiving, and too late finding their error, in a disordered manner made towards our landing place, but before they could compasse the fret, or cleft rocky ground as aforesaid, all our Army was landed: Neverthelesse they came on brauely, but our falcons made them halt; our Vanguard made towards them, and a good skirmish ensued, which continued untill the other Regiments came up, but then they brake, and ran faster then wee could follow: vpon the place eight and twentie of them was slaine, whereof two were officers, and thirtie wounded, whereof Captaine *Tirrell* was one, shot in the body but not deepe enough: There was onely two prisoners taken, and presently hanged, whereof a servant of *Iames Archer*. (the infamous Iesuit) was one, and with him his masters sword and portace: And if the Iesuit himselfe had not beene a light footed Priest, hee had fallen into our hands, and yet as nimble as hee was, hee escaped with much difficultie, and besides him, great numbers of them would haue passed the edge of the sword, had not they had a boggie Wood at hand, wherein they were sheltered: The losse of our side was onely the hurting of seven men, but none of marke; the skirmish being ended, wee lodged that night upon the same ground neere unto Castle *Dermond*.



## CHAP. VII.

*The Spanish ship which arrived neere Ardea brought Passengers, Munition, and Money to the Rebels. The distributors and distribution of some of the money. A Letter from Owen Mac Eggan unto Richard Mac Goghagan at Donboy. A Letter from Iames Archer Iesuit to Dominick Collins Iesuit at Donboy. A Letter from Iohn Anias to Dominick at Donboy. A Letter from Iohn Anias to the Barron of Lixnaw a little before his execution.*

**W**ITHIN two houres after the skirmish aforesaid was ended, the Rebels had intelligence that there was a Spanish patach landed the night before at the haven of Kilmokilloc, not farre from Ardea, in the bay of Camnarra, shee was purposely sent from Spaine, to know the estate of the Castle of Donboy, whether it held still for the King of Spaine; some Irish passengers was in her, namely a Fryer *Iames Nelane*, a Thomond man belonging to Sir *Tirlogh Obrian*, who had the charge of the treasure; *Owen Mac Eggan* the Popes Bishop of Rosse, and his *vicarius Apostolicus*, with Letters to sundry Rebels, and twelue thousand pounds, as the President was credibly informed by one called *Moylemurry Mac Edmond Boy Mac Swyny*, then a Rebelle, who saw it, besides munition, which did put such a fresh spirit into the Rebels, (who formerly were advising rather to breake and disperse then to endure a siege) as they solemnly vowed to persevere in the defence of the Castle, assuring the Messenger (which they confirmed by their Letters) that they would hold the same until



Michaelmas, within which time they prayed aid, which the Messenger confidently promised; for (said hee) two thousand men were drawn to the Groyne, before I departed thence: And the next morning being the fifteenth, hee set saile for Spaine, carrying with him *Brian Okelly*, and *Donnagh Mac Mahon Obrian*: The distribution of the money by appointment in Spaine (as *Moylemurry* aforesaid affirmed) was left principally to the disposition of *Donnell Osulevan Beare*, *Owen Mac Eggan*, *Iames Archer* and some others, and *Ellen Cartie*, wife to *Owen Osulevan* then a prisoner with *Donnell Osulevan Beare*, did see some part of that treasure disbursed in manner following.

|                                                             |           |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| To <i>Donnell Osulevan Beare</i> .                          | 1500. li. |
| To <i>Iames Archer</i> Iesuit.                              | 0150      |
| To <i>Donoghe Moyle Mac Cartie</i> .                        | } 0160    |
| To <i>Finnin Mac Cartie</i> .                               |           |
| To <i>Dermond Moyle, Florence</i> his Brother.              | 0300. li. |
| To <i>Odonevan</i> .                                        | 0200      |
| To Sir <i>Finnin Odrischall</i> , and <i>Conner</i> his Son | 0500      |
| To <i>Conner Mac Nemarra</i> .                              | } 0100    |
| To <i>Richard Blake</i> .                                   |           |
| To The Lord of <i>Lixnaw</i> .                              | 0100      |
| To <i>Iohn fits Thomas</i> .                                | 0200      |
| To O <i>Conner Kerry</i> .                                  | } 0100    |
| To the Knight of the <i>Valley</i> .                        |           |
| To <i>Donnell Mac Cartie</i> the Bast.                      | 0400      |

Sum. 3710. li.



And likewise the said *Moilmurry*, saw foure great Boat loads of wine munition, and money, taken ou of the patach, and caried on shore by *Osulevan Beare*, into the Castle of *Ardea*; but how much munition was brought he did not know, part thereof was presently sent to Donboy, to encourage the Rebels in the Castle; *Owen Mac Eggan* wrote a Letter to *Richard Mac Goghagan*, which is here ensuing truely related, and an other written by *Archer* the Iesuit, to *Dominick Collins* the Fryer, and a third from *Iohn Anias*, who conceived himselfe to be a good Ingeniere: All which Letters doe here ensue.

*A Letter from Owen Mac Eggan to Richard Mac Goghagan at Donboy.*

**M**Aster *Richard*, I commend mee unto you, being very glad of the good report I heare of you, whereby I cannot but expect much (with God his assistance) in that lawfull and godly cause of you: I am sorry, but it was my lucke to conferre with you, and with the rest of your company, and informe you of all the State of the matters of Spaine; but upon my credit and conscience, there is no peece of service now in hand in all Christendome for the King of Spaine, then the same that yee haue: How great it is to God, and necessary for our Countrey affaires you know: Moreover within few dayes you shall haue releefe of men come to helpe you thither out of Spaine: the great Army of fourteene thousand men are forth comming,



you shall all be aswell recompensed, both by God and by the Kings Majestie, as any Ward that is in all the world againe; haue me I pray commended to all, and especially to father *Dominick*, and bid him bee of good courage; there comes with the Army a father of the company an Italian, for the Pope his *Nuncius*, in whose company I came from Rome to the Court of Spaine, and there hee expects the Armies comming hither, hee shall giue all a benediction, yea I hope within your Castle there, spite of all the devils in hell: From the Catholike Campe this present Wednesday, 1602.

Your assured Friend,  
*Owen Hegaine.*

In my sacrifice and other poore prayers I will not faile, but commend you and your good cause to God; our shippe did arriue three dayes agon, and our Letters is come to the King by this time, *Nisi Dominus custodierit civitatem, &c.*

*A Letter from Iames Archer Iesuite, to Dominick Collins, Iesuite, at Donboy.*

**Y**Our Letters of Thursday last came to our hands, but our disagreeing in some matters, makes to bee slacke in performing your desire, yet you must take better order for the premises; in the meane while, how ever becomes of our delayes, or insufficiencies, bee



yee of heroicall minds, (for of such consequence is the keeping of that Castle, that every one there shall surpass in deserts any of us here; and for Noble valiant Souldiers shall passe immortall throughout all ages to come; for the better encouraging, let these words be read in their hearing: Out of *Spaine* we are in a vehement expectation, and for Powder, Lead, and Money, furnished: Now to come to more particular matters, vnderstand that there are but two wayes to attempt you, that is, scaling with ladders, or Battery: for scaling, I doubt not but your owne wits needs no direction; and for Battery, you may make up the breach by night. The higher you rayse your workes every way the better, but let it bee thicke and substantiall: raise of a greater height that worke Captaine *Tirrell* made, betwixt the house and the cornell: make plaine the broken house on the South side: For fire-worke direction doe this, prime the holes, and stop in the balls with powder mixt through the materiall well, and some powder vppermost that shall take fire; the rest you know, as you haue heard mee declare there: by all meanes possible send me one Ball, and the rest of the Saltpeeter. This in haste till better leasure: Campe this Thursday.

*Your loving Cousen,*  
JAMES ARCHER.

To Father *Dominicke*  
*Collins*, these in haste.



A Letter from *John Anias*, to *Dominick Collins*,  
Iesuite, at Donboy.

**B**E carefull of your fortifying continually, with a most speciall care rayse in height the *West* side of your *Port*; fill your *Chambers* on the *South* and *North* side with *Hides*, and earth; what battery is made suddenly repayre it like valiant *Souldiers*; make plaine in the *South* side the remnant of the broken houses; make wayes out of the *Hall* to scower and cast stones upon the *Port*, and if the *Enemy* would attempt the like, dig deepe that place wee first begun, and a trench aboue to defend the same, as I haue sayd unto you. Although wee expect speedie reliefe out of *Spaine*, yet bee you wise to preserue the store of *Victuals* discreetly: Devise your selues all the *Invention* possible to hold out this siege, which is the greatest honour in this *Kingdome*: with the next I shall prepare shooes for you: send me the cord or long line, and the rest of the *Saltpeter*, withall the yron *borriers*, seven peeces in all. Salute in my name *Richard Magoghegane*, praying God to haue of his speciall Grace that care of your successe. From the Campe, the                      of June, 1602.

Your loving Cousen,  
*John Anias*.

To *Father Dominick*,  
*Beerehaven*, these.



In November following, this *Iohn Anias*, (who in October was taken prisoner by *Iohn Berry*, the Constable of Castle Mange) was executed by Martiall Law: Whether he was a Priest or no, it was held doubtfull: The day before his execution he wrote this ensuing Letter to the Lord of *Lixnaw*.

A Letter from *Iohn Anias* to the Baron of *Lixnaw*,  
a little before his execution.

**I**N trust is treason: So Wingfield betrayed me; my death satisfies former suspitions, and giues occasion heereafter to remember mee; and as ever I aspire to immortallize my name upon the earth, so I would request you by vertue of that ardent affection I had toward you in my life, you would honour my death, in making mention of my name in the Register of your countrey: Let not my servant Cormock want, as a faithfull servant unto mee; let my Funerall and Service of the Catholique Church bee observed for the Soule. Heere I send you the Passe, and Letter of that faithlesse Wingfield, having charged the Bearer upon his duetie to God, to deliver this unto your hands. Osulevan was strange to mee, but inures himselfe to want me. Commend mee to Captaine Tirrell, Oconnor, your sister Gerode Oge. This the night before my executien, the eight day of November, 1602. and upon this sudden I cannot write largely.

Your loving Bedfellow sometimes,  
*Ismarito.*



## CHAP. VIII.

*The Lo. President vieweth the Castle of Donboy. The Lord President finds good ground to encampe in, and to plant the battrey contrary to all mens opinions. Two Espials of the Rebels hanged. The Artillery landed. The Campe entrenched, and the Artillery drawn into the Market place. Our Approaches begun. The Iland of the Dorsies taken, and in it divers Rebels slaine and taken prisoners besides Artillery, Munition, and much other spoyle. The Rebels taken in the Dorsies executed, and the fort rased. Captaine Kingsmill maymed with a shot. An attempt of the Rebels given on our Campe. Sir Samuell Bagnall brings Letters to the Lord President from the Lord Deputy, and from Don Iuan de Aguila. A faire escape. The Artillery planted before Donboy. Donboy battered and a breach made. The breach assaulted. Divers of the Rebels slaine in seeking to escape by a salley. Others slaine in the water. The Lord Presidents colours placed on the top of the Castle, but the Vault still mainetayned by the Rebels. Sundry Rebels voluntarily yeelded themselues. The remaynder made election of a new Captaine, whose resolution was extraordinary. A battery made upon the Vault. The rest rendered themselues. A desperate resolution of Richard Mac Goghagan. Eight and fifty Rebels executed, the rest reserved for a time. The whole number of the Ward in Donboy. The losse wee received in the siege. Captaines, men of quality and others wounded. Artillery, Munition, and spoyles gotten in the Castle.*

**T**HE seventh, the President drew his forces to a necke of land within a mile of Donboy, opposite against it, an Arme of the Sea passing betweene the Castle and the Campe: from whence the President taking Sir *Charles Wilmot*, and one hundred Foot for a Guard with him, stole out of the Campe, and marched directly to the Castle to view it, and the grounds adjoyning; in doing whereof some small shott was bestowed upon them, but none other hurt



done then Sir *Charles Wilmots* horse shot in the foot: There they found (contrary to the reports of all men that had seene the same) a faire place of good ground, and of capacity sufficient to encampe in, within twelue score of the Castle, and yet out of the sight of it, by reason of a rising ground inter-jacent, and also upon the top of a small assent in the midst of the rockes, a faire greene plot of ground, not an hundred and fortie yards distant from the Castle, like unto a naturall platforme, of a just largenesse to plant the Artillery upon: At their returne the report being made, it was hardly beleaved: For the Lord *Barry*, the white Knight, *Cormuck Mac Dermond*, Captaine *Iohn Barry*, and *Owen Osulevan*, who was borne and bred in the Castle; all of them being in the Campe, did evermore constantly aver, that there was no other then rocky ground neere unto it, and surely I conceiue they did thinke it to bee so, supposing that the plots of ground afore mentioned, were too little to lodge in, and to plant the Artillery: Further the President assured them, (with Gods favour) hee would plant the Ordnance without the losse of a man, and within seven dayes after the battery was begun, to bee master of all that place, hereat the whole Army much rejoyced: for the generall opinion was, that it would be a long siege, but afterwards (as you shall heare) the President kept his promise aforesaid: The same day, seven great shot was made from the Castle to the Campe, but no harme done.



The eight wee planted two Falcons taken out of the Queenes Pinnacle, upon a poynt of land, on the North side of the Castle, hard by our Campe, which beate upon the Enemy, who were then carying of turffe, and earth to advance their workes: And the same day, the Hoy was brought a ground, and two Culverings unshipt, and put into boats, and two spies sent by the Enemy into our Campe were taken and hanged: And wee also sent Souldiers to the Wood, to cut Gabion stuffe, and to bring the rafters of an old Church, to make Ioyces for the platforme, to plant the Ordnance on.

The ninth, the Sergeant Major, Captaine *George Flower*, was sent by Sea to take view of the Spanish bay neere Donboy, to see whether there were any good landing for the Ordnance there, and found the ground rocky and unfit for draught.

The tenth, Captaine *Francis Slingsby* (whom I cannot too much commend) in the Hoy with the Demy Cannon, and the three boats laden with two Culverings, and one Demy Culvering, past the poynt underneath the Castle, within one hundred foote of the same, from whence their great shot were made at the Hoy, but all without harme, for his Muskets so plyed the Artillery, the Gunners durst scarcely stand by the same: And the same day wee landed the two Culverings, and the Demy Cannon, and encamped within musket shot, but not within sight of the Castle, by reason of a rising



ground aforesaid which shadowed us, although oftentimes their great and small shot came over the Campe, and amongst us into the same.

The Ordnance was not possible to bee drawne from the place where wee landed, unto the place where wee made our Quarter; but there was a small Creeke very neere unto the Castle of Dunboy, which being once entred into, they might ride in safetie, being then covered with a hill betweene them and the Castle, but all the way of their comming thither, was open to the play of the Ordnance of the Castle, untill they were within that Creeke, whose mouth was not aboue fortie yards distant from the Castle: The President commanded the Ordnance to bee shipped into Boats, and to carry them into that Creeke, which by the helpe of darke nights, and still rowing, was effected undiscovered: But the Cannon and Culverings were of that weight, that no Boat there could carry them, and none durst adventure in the Hoy to carry them by night. In this difficulty Captaine *Slingsby* did desire the President, that hee would commit that to his charge, and giue him but thirtie Shott, and he would (by Gods grace) carry that Ordnance by day light into that Creeke, or sinke by the way, if his Lordship would please to adventure the Ordnance; which was accepted and performed the same day without the losse of any man, though many shot were made from the Castle: for hee had placed all his Shot in the hold upon the Ballast, so that the Decke was breast high aboue



them, so that they had onely their Peeces and head and shoulders aboue the decke, to play with their small shot, and he that steered the Hoy, might bee in safetie, (which much concerned the effecting of that service by his safe conducting) hee placed him in the hold, and ordered it so, that with two takles hee might steere the Hoy either to Starboard, or to Port, as hee was willed aboue by the Captaine, who stood aloft by the Misen Maste to order her course as hee saw cause : but it was so fine and fresh a gale of winde, that though they sayled aboue halfe a league in play of the Ordnance and small shot of the Castle, yet shee made that way, that they could not aboue twice discharge and lade their Ordnance, before shee attained the Creeke, where she was then in securitie from any further annoyance of the Castle.

The eleventh, wee entrenched our Campe, mounted our Ordnance, and drew them all into the market place ; and the same day about eight of the clock in the evening, the Lord President gaue direction to haue a Demy Culvering drawen within shot of the Castle, which made but two shot that night, and was withdrawn : The Spanish Cannoniers finding the shot, willed the Irish to be of good courage, for that Peece would doe them no harme : Hee also caused two Minnions to bee landed out of the Queenes ship, and placed them upon a poynt of ground on the Northwest side of the Castle, which overlooked it, to annoy the Rebels ; whilst we were about our worke, the same



night wee began our approaches : the care whereof the President imposed upon Captaine *Francis Slingsby*, a discrete and dexterous Gentleman, making him Trench-master, who performed with commendations the charge which was layed upon him, having all the day before employed a great partie of men in the Wood (which was a long mile and halfe distant from the Campe) to fetch more wattle, to make Gabions, and was constrained to send a strong guard with them for their defence : This day the Enemy out of the Wood made a salley upon some of our guards, but were immediatly repulsed.

The twelfth of the same, understanding that the Enemy had fortified the Iland of the *Dorsies*, and caried thither three Peeces of Spanish Ordnance, and placed a strong Ward of fourtie choice men in the same, reserving that as their last and surest refuge : The Lord President made speciall choice of Captaine *Iohn Bostock*, and sent him with *Owen Osulevan*, and Lieutenant *Downings* (officer to Sir *Francis Barkley*) and gaue them (as also to Captaine *Thomas Fleming*, who had command of her Majesties Pinnace) secretly in charge ; (that now whilst their Army was occupied in besieging Dunboy, and making their trenches and approaches, and the Enemy secure from any suspition, that wee would giue any attempt else where) that they should presently take her Majesties Pinnace and foure boats, and put into them one hundred and sixtie foote men, and set saile for the Iland of the *Dorsies*, which



charge they effected accordingly, and arrived there with the forces early the next day in the morning, and being on land drew to the North poynt of the Iland, where they found the wals of a ruined Chappell; Captaine *Bostocke* under the safetie thereof lodged Lieutenant *Downings*, and a partie of men, and then returned aboard the Queenes Pinnace, to giue direction what hee would haue done, and thence tooke the Boat of the Pinnace and rowed about the Iland, to discover a fit landing place for himselfe, and the rest of his Souldiers, then comming backe to the Pinnace (so soone as the tide served) caused the Pinnace to warpe up neerer the place, and appoynted thirtie Souldiers and a Sergeant to attend her, and sent unto Lieutenant *Downings* a shore, advising him, that at the very instant that hee should land in the East part of the fort, that hee should giue an attempt on the North side: Then hee divided his men into three Boats, and the Pinnace beating upon the fort with her Ordnance; hee and Lieutenant *Downings* (at the other two places first agreed upon) assayled the uttermost fort, which after a good defence made, their resolution and valour caried it, and there they possest themselues of three Iron Peeces of the Spanish Ordnance, and forced the Rebels into their second fort, where they enter-tayned a good fight for the space of two howers: But our men being encouraged with their first good fortune, gaue on them so eagerly, as the Enemy amazed rendered themselues, and presently all the weaponed men came forth, and delivered him possession of the



fort, which was a place of an exceeding great strength; and in the same, at the yeelding up thereof, was the wife of *Owen Osulevan*, who since February last had beene held prisoner by *Osulevan Beare*: There were found within the fort seven barrells of powder, with a small proportion of Lead, and aboue threescore shot for their great Ordnance, as also a quantity of Wheat, Oyle, and Vinegar: In the Iland there were taken fve hundred milch Cowes; of the Rebels foure were killed, two hurt, who with all the rest were brought into the Campe, and after executed: The fort for that it was conceived to be an unnecessary charge, and unmeete to bee helde; the Lord President caused Lieutenant *Downings*, to ruine, and lay it even with the ground.

The same night the Lord President, the Earle of Thomond, Sir *Richard Percy*, Sir *Charles Willmott*, Captaine *Francis Slingsby*, and Captaine *George Kinsmill*, with others standing round together in conference, a Musket shott came amongst them from the Castle, and shott Captaine *George Kinsmill* through the left hand, and brake many of his bones.

The thirteenth about midnight, *Tirrell* with the Rebells forces came as neere to our Campe as he durst, and gaue vs a hote alarme, powring shott into our Campe, shot through many of our tents and cabbins, which did us little or no hurte, who being resisted from the North side of our Campe, where a little Sconce



was the same day rayzed to hold a guard in, the charge whereof was imposed on Lieutenant *Iefferey*, and good Seconds sent from us, they ran away. This day Sir *Samuel Bagnall* arrived at the Campe by Sea, and brought Letters unto the President from the Deputie, commanding him to send all the Forces unto his Lordship; (except those of the old List of Mounster) Hee also brought with him a Letter from *Don Iohn de Aguila*, which had come by a Merchant of *Dublin* to the Lord Deputies hands.

The fourteenth and fifteenth, our men were busie making of gabions, and drawing the trenches neerer the Castle, Captaine *Francis Slingsby* being (as afore-said) Trenchmaster.

The same day the President, the Earle of *Thomond*, and Sir *Charles Wilmott*, taking a guard of Foot with them, rode (for recreation) out of the Campe towards our last camping place, and riding softly by the Sea side, (all three in ranke) having left their Foot behinde them, they espied a Gunner in the Castle traversing of a Peece of Ordnance; This fellow (said the President) will make a shott at us; the word was no sooner spoken, but fire was given: The President knowing that Gunners doe evermore lay before a mooving marke, rayned his Horse, and stood firme; The Earle and Sir *Charles* started forward, and the Bullet grazed even at their horse heeles, beating some of the earth upon them. The President glad to see



them past danger, laughing, sayd, That if they had been as good Mechanicall Cannoniers, as they were Commaunders, they would haue stood firme as hee did. Also this day a whole Culvering was drawne out of the Campe, and certaine shott was made; the Bullets being found, the Gunners liked it not, and began to feare their successe. The day following, the whole Culvering having been formerly withdrawne, certaine shot was made out of the Demy-culvering aforesaid; Vpon sight of the shot they much rejoiced, supposing that our Culvering had received some mischance, and scorned at any offence wee could doe them.

The sixteenth, the Gabions, Trenches, and Platforms were finished, and in the night the Demy-Cannon, and the two Culverings were drawn downe, and planted against the Castle, within 140 yards.

The seventeenth, about five of the clocke in the morning, our Battery consisting of one Demy-cannon, two whole Culverings, and one Demi-culvering, began to play, which continued without intermission till towards nine in the forenoone, at which time a Turret annexed to the Castle, on the Southwest part thereof, was beaten downe, in which there was a Falcon of yron placed, upon the top of the Vault, that continually played at our Artillery, which also tumbled downe; with the fall of that Tower, many of the Rebels were buried therein: That being ruinated the Ordnance



played on the west front of the Castle, which by one of the clocke in the afternoone, was also forced downe; Vpon the fall whereof the Enemy sent out a Messenger, offering to surrender the place, if they might haue their liues, and depart with their Armes, and a pledge given for the assurance thereof; Neverthelessse they continued shooting all the while the Messenger was coming betweene them and us, whose Message being delivered, the Lord President turned him over to the Marshall, by whose direction hee was executed; and then the Breach being in our appearance assaultable, the Lord President gaue commandement to haue it entered: Whereupon the Captaines of the Lord Presidents Regiments, which were commanded by Captain *Henrie Skipwith*, Lieutenant Collonell thereof, who were to giue the assault, and cast the Dyce for the poynt, and who should giue seconds; and it fell to Captaine *Doddington's* chance, and to be seconded by Sir *Anth. Cooke* their Lieutenants, *Francis Kirton*, and *Thomas Mewtas*, to giue on first, & the rest of the Regiment to second them. The Earle of *Thomonds* Regiment was to second the Lo. Presidents, and during the assault, the two Regiments of Sir *Richard Percy*, and Sir *Charles Wilmot*, were commanded to stand in Armes in the market place, aswell to assure the Campe, as also to answer all other occasions; all things being thus disposed of, Lieutenant *Kirton* according to the direction, giving on first, in entering the breach was at the push of the Pike, on



the top of the same; who although hee received three shot and hurt in the right arme, yet with valour and resolution hee kept the place and made it good, till Lieutenant *Mewtas* came up to his second, and both they, untill the Lord Presidents colours and the rest did climb up, and placed their Ensignes upon a turret of the barbicon, reinforced with earth and faggots of great thicknesse, unto which was added a large spurre on the South west part of the Castle, of the height of sixteene foote, as in like manner all the Turrets and Curtains of the Barbicon were reinforced, at the top whereof they barricadoed themselues with barrells of earth, and at the first approach there was within it, some of the Enemy with a Faulcon of Iron, whom our men forced to quit the place, and to retreate themselues into a Turret adjoyning upon the South side, which was rampiered with earth some sixteene foote high; flanking the first, it being well manned, and therein a Demy Culvering and a Saker of brasse, loaden with haile shot; the one whereof they presently discharged upon our men that were possest of the South west Turret and Spurre, and going to lade her againe, their Gunner was slaine at his Peece; whereupon they being for the present deprived of the use of those Ordnance, and the place wee possest playing directly into it, they were forced to retreate under the safetie of the East part of the Castle, which was standing, where the Enemy had placed Pikes at the corners of the wals, to receiue them; (the way betweene it,



and the Curtaine of the Barbicon, being but sixe or eight foote broad, which passage they so well defended, as we could neither annoy them, nor goe betwixt the two Turrets aforesaid, without disadvantage and apparant danger of great losse, where the shelter of the wall, and the narrownesse of the passage deprived both us and them of all use of shot, and there for the space of an hower and a halfe, it was disputed with great obstinacie on either side; the Enemy still making good defence, and beating with shot and stones upon us, from the staires and likewise from that part of the Castle, which stood from the top of the Vault, and from under the Vault, both with peeces and by their throwing downe stones, Iron bullets and other annoyances, wherewith many of our men were slaine and wounded, and wee oppressing them in all those places by all meanes wee might, and still attempting to get up to the top of the Vault by the ruines of the breach, which was maintayned by the Enemy, as wee were divers times forced downe again: And whilst in each of these places, our men were thus employed, Captaine *Slingsbies* Sergeant who had gotten to the top of the Vault of the Southwest Tower (by cleering the rubbish thence) found out that the ruines thereof had made a way, that leads to a spike or window that looked into it, and commands that part of the barbicon of the Castle, which the Enemy possest and defended (hee having beene there two howers before hee discovered the



same,) by which passage our men making their descent to the Enemy, and gayning ground upon them, they being then in desperate case, some fourtie of them made a salley out of the Castle to the Sea side, whither our men pursuing them on the one side, and they being crost by Captaine *Blundell* with a small party of men (on the out side of the Barbicon) on the other side wee had the execution of them all there (saving eight which leapt into the Sea to saue themselves by swimming: But the Lord President supposing before that they would in their extremity make such an adventure to escape, had appoynted Captaine *Gawen Harvie*, and his Lieutenant *Thomas Stafford*, with three boats to keepe the Sea, who had the killing of them all, other three leapt from the top of the Vault, where our Souldiers killed them, amongst which a notable Rebelle called *Mellaghlen Moore*, (being the man that layed hands first upon the Earle of *Ormond*, and plucked him from his horse, when hee was taken prisoner by *Owhny Mac Roury*) was slaine.

After this, the courage of the Enemy decreasing with their numbers, and not able, nor daring to make such defence as they did before, we gaue a new Assault to the top of the Vault, where having a difficult ascent, the shott from the foot of the Breach giving good assistance, (after some howers assault and defence, with some losse of both sides) we gayned the



top of the Vault, and all the Castle upwards, and placed our Colours upon the height thereof, the whole remaynder of the Ward being three score and seventene men, were constrayned to retyre into the Sellors, into which wee having no descent, but by a straight winding stony stayre, they defended the same against us, and thereupon upon promise of their liues, they offered to come foorth, but not to stand to mercy. Notwithstanding immediately after, a Fryer borne in Yoghall, called *Dominicke Collins*, who had been brought up in the Warres of *Fraunce*, and there under the League had beene a Commaunder of Horse in *Britany*, (by them called Captaine *Le Branch*) came foorth, and rendered himselfe, the Sunne being by this time set, and strong guards being left upon the Rebels remayning in the Celler, the Regiments withdrawen to the Campe.

The eighteenth in the morning, three and twentie more likewise rendered themselues simply to Captaine *Blundell*, who the night before had the guard, and after their Cannoniers being two Spaniards, and an Italian (for the rest were slaine) likewise yeelded themselues: Then *Mac Goghegan* chiefe Commander of the place, being mortally wounded with divers shott in his body, the rest made choise of one *Thomas Taylor*, an English mans Sonne (the dearest and inwardest man with *Tirrell*, and married to his Neece) to bee their Chiefe, who having nine barrells of powder, drew himselfe and it into the Vault, and there



sate downe by it, with a light match in his hand, vowing and protesting to set it on fire, and blow up the Castle, himselfe, and all the rest, except they might haue promise of life, which being by the Lord President refused; (for the safetie of our men) his Lordship gaue direction for a new battery upon the Vault, intending to bury them in the ruines thereof, and after a few times discharged, and the bullets entering amongst them into the Celler, the rest that were with *Taylor*, partly by intercession, but chiefly by compulsion, (threatening to deliver him up if hee were obstinate;) about ten of the clock in the morning of the same day, constrained him to render simply, who with eight and fortie more being ready to come forth; and Sir *George Thornton*, the Sergeant Major, Captaine *Roger Harvie*, Captaine *Power*, and others entering the Vault to receiue them, Captaine *Power* found the said *Richard Mac Goghegan* lying there mortally wounded (as before) and perceiving *Taylor* and the rest ready to render themselues, raised himselfe from the ground, snatching a light Candle, and staggering therewith to a barrell of powder (which for that purpose was unheaded) offering to cast it into the same, Captaine *Power* tooke him, and held him in his armes, with intent to make him prisoner, untill he was by our men (who perceived his intent) instantly killed, and then *Taylor* and the rest were brought prisoners to the Campe.



The same day fiftie eight were executed in the Market place, but the Fryer *Taylor*, and one *Tirlagh Roe Mac Swiny*, a follower unto Sir *Tirlagh O Brian*, and twelue more of *Tirrells* chiefe men, the Lord President reserved aliue, to trie whether he could draw them to doe some more acceptable service than their lives were worth: The whole number of the Ward consisted of one hundred and fortie three selected fighting men, being the best choice of all their Forces, of the which no one man escaped, but were either slaine, executed, or buried in the ruines, and so obstinate and resolved a defence had not bin seene within this kingdome. On our part we lost in the place *Thomas Smith*, Captaine, *Francis Slingsbies* Lieutenant, and some others; and many of our men were burnt with Powder and Fire-works, which the enemie cast amongst them as they were in fight: Men of note hurt, Captaine *Dodington* shot with two Bullets in the body, but not mortall, his Lieutenant, *Francis Kirton* shot in the arme and thigh, divers Sergeants, and sixtie two Souldiers maimed and wounded, of which some are dead since, and others like to follow. And amongst the rest Sir *Anthony Cooke*, Sir *Iarrett Harvie*, Captaine *Skipwith*, and Captaine *Roger Harvie*, received severall bruises with stones and Iron bullets flung upon them, but being well armed, they received no great hurt. In the Castle wee gayned ten Peeces of Ordnance, whereof fower were brasse, two of them being broken by our battery, and an other Peece of



brasse was likewise broken by our Ordnance, before any part of the Castle fell, which the Prisoners say is so deeply buried in the ruines, as the search of the metall is not worth the labour; all the Carredges were by the fall of the Castle and by our Artillery so broken, as no one of them were left serviceable: Moreover there was of powder nine barrells, some great shot, but their whole store by reason of the ruines, wee could not well find out: There was also in the Castle some quantities of Wine, Vinegar, Oyle, Corne, Beeffe and Hides, which the Souldiers made pillage of,

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## CHAPTER IX.

*Tirrells proffers for the redeeming of his men. Our Ordnance (with those which were gayned there) shipped. The services propounded to Tirrell hee refuseth, and the reasons of his refusall. The Castle of Donboy blowen up with powder. Tirrells men which were respited executed. The Army shipped, and transported into the great Iland. The Downings taken, Leam-con Castle taken. The Castle of Lettartinlesse taken and burnt. The Lord President returned to Corke. The Companies sent for by the Lord Deputie delivered over to Sir Samuel Bagnall. The confidence the Irish had of supplyes from Spaine, made them obstinate.*

**T**HE nineteenth proffer was made by the traytor *Terrill*, to doe some acceptable service that might redeeme the liues of his men, so their execution might bee respited, which was for that time forborne: And the same day all our Ordnance, and



those Spanish Peeçes that we gayned at Dunboy, were put aboard and shipped, as also our boats, sent to the Iland of the Dorsies, to fetch Lieutenant *Downings*, our men, and the Ordnance, from thence, which were in number twelue, viz. Demy-culvering one, Sacres fower, Minnions five, Faulcons two.

The twentieth *Tirrell* (understanding (as is sayd) that his mens lives were respited) sent his trusty servant *Laghlin Odallye* to the Lord President, to signifie unto him, that he would performe any service, that should be within his power, to purchase the lives and liberties of his followers: Answer was returned him, and a stratagem propounded, in the effecting thereof, he should obtaine pardon and libertie for himselfe and his Dependants, but the reply which he made thereunto was, that he would ransom the Prisoners with money, if that might be accepted; but to be false to the King of Spaine (whom he termed his Master) or to betray the Catholicke cause, hee would never: upon which answer his twelve Men (before respited) two dayes after were executed. The cause wherefore he so suddainly swarved from his first promise of service, was the hopes which he received by *Owen Mac Egan* the Popes Bishop of Rosse, lately arrived at Ardea, in the Bay (as aforesaid) of Clanmarrah. The President therefore perceiving that they conceived great hope of Spaniards, advised the day following with the chieffes of the Army, what course was best to



bee taken with the Castle of Dunboy halfe ruined, who were all of opinion, that a Garrison which should be left there could not defend themselves, or give any great annoyance to the Spaniard, if they should fortune to land there ; for being so remote from all Seconds and succours, were unavoidably left to ruine : And besides (though the Spaniards came not) the service that they could doe in that Countrey, would not countervaile Her Majesties charge in maintayning them : Therefore they resolved to bestow the Powder which was recovered in the Castle to blow up the same ; committed to the charge of Captaine *Slingsbie*.

The two and twentyeth, the Castle of Dunboy was accordingly blowne up with Powder, the out-Workes and Fortifications utterly destroyed, and the same day Lieutenant *Downings*, with our men and Boates returned from the Dorses to the Campe, as also twelve of *Terrills* chiefe men, formerly spoken of, were executed.

But *Taylor*, and *Dominicke Collins* the Fryer, were carried Prisoners to Corke, where being found, by due prooffe, that *Taylor* was one of the principall murderers of his Captaine *George Bingham* at Sligo, besides an infinite number of other foule and traytorly acts, he was shortly after without the City of Corke (not farre from the North Gate) hanged in chaines ; and the Fryer, in whom no penitence appeared for his de-



testable treasons, nor yet would endeavour to merite his life, either by discovering the Rebells intentions, (which was in his power) or by doing of some service that might deserve favour, was hanged at Youghall, the Towne wherein he was borne.

The same day also all our carriage and baggage layed aboard, at the enterance into our boats, because wee were not able to carie the Cowes, Horses, and Mares which wee had taken, being at least sixe or seven hundred heads, the President commanded they should bee killed, which was performed,

The three and twentieth wee shipped our whole Army backe from Dunboy, who all arrived that day in the great Iland, and from thence the Earle of Thomond, and Sir *Charles Wilmot*, and both their Regiments were transported by shipping to Killaminog, being the place wee encamped in (as wee went) in Mainterbaie.

The same day the Lord President was advertised by Lieutenant *Saunders*, that hee had taken a great boat belonging to *Teg Mac Connor Odriscall*, brother to *Connor Oge Odriscall*, of the *Downings*, wherein there was slaine *Dary Mac Connor* his brother, and three more of his best men, and that two dayes after, hee tooke the strong place of the *Downings*, which is seated upon a high rock in the Sea, disjoyned from the land, so as their is no comming unto it, but over



a little draw bridge of wood, resembling the seat of Dunluce in Vlster.

The foure and twentieth the Lord President, and Sir *Richard Percy* with their Regiments were imbarqued, and they arrived in the evening at the Iland of Whiddy, where wee had no meanes for want of boats to unship our men, and the night approaching were enforced to leaue our two Regiments a shipboard, and the Lord President lay that night in the Iland.

The fiue and twentieth, the Earle and Sir *Charles* with their Regiments marched by land from Killaminog to the old camping place at *Carew Castle*, whither when the boats came to us, wee unshipt the remayned of the Army, and there wee encamped all that night.

The sixe and twentieth, the Companies required by the Lord Deputie were assigned, and commanded to prepare themselues and attend Sir *Samuell Bagnall* till hee brought them to his Lordship : and the same day the Castle of Leam-con neere Crooke-haven which the rebels warded, was recovered from them, by an officer and party of men, of Captaine *Roger Harvies* Company.

The seven and twentieth, the Earle of Thomond, and Sir *George Thornton* were imbarqued in the Queenes Pinnace, to goe for England, and the Army



dislodged from *Carew* Castle, and marched to a place in the Mountaine called *Becarien Eltagh*, where wee encamped that night.

The eight and twentieth the Lord President departed thence, taking the Captaines and Officers of those companies that were to goe into Vlster, along with him, that they might perclose their accounts, and dispatch all things at Corke, against their Companies should come thither, and by the way the Castle of *Lettertinlesse*, belonging to *Conogher* Sir *Finnin Odriscals* Sonne, where the Enemy had a ward of seventeene men; after some defence made and shot discharged, when they saw the Army drawe before the Castle, they sued for their liues, which granted them they yeelded it up; and after the Souldiers had made pillage of the goods, wee burned and destroyed the Castle, and stone hall, and rod thence to *Tymolagg*, leaving the Army behind us that night in *Rosse*.

The nine and twentieth the Lord President went to *Kinsale*, and tooke view of the fortifications at *Castle-Parke*, and gaue order and direction for the better forwarding and ending of the workes there, and thence rode that night to *Corke*, appoynting the Companies that were to depart the Province, to march the shortest way, and to lodge at *Downdanyer*, *Donnell Mac Cartie Reughes* Castle, and the rest to come to *Kinsale*.



The thirtieth, those Companies which were to goe with Sir *Samuell Bagnall* came to Corke, and had their supplies delivered them, with order for their present departure.

The first of Iuly the Captaines that were to goe along with Sir *Samuel Bagnall*, spent the day in staying for their sicke men, which were comming after, and preparing themselues for their journey; and the day following they arose all from Corke, and marched thitherwards.

The President in his returne from Dunboy (as is said) passing through Carbery where many were still in action, not doubting but now they would haue submitted themselues, seeing their supposed impregnable Cittadell was destroyed, and *Dermond Moyle Mac Cartie* their *Ante signane* slaine, hee found it much otherwise, for those which before offered to doe service for their pardons stood aloofe, and those which before were distracted, and prepared to fly either to Spaine or Vlster, had received new life, and made fast combinations to hold out, till their expected aids from Spaine should arriue; yea and some also who before were subjects, and forward to giue the best intelligence, did now palpably bewray both by their countenance, their words, and their actions, that their hearts were otherwise affected: All which alteration did arise from the arrivall of *Owen Mac Eggan* so often mentioned, who not onely bestowed the Spanish treasure, which hee brought with him bounti-



fully amongst them, but put them in hope of more, with full assurance of a fresh Army to come to their succours; his credit, the feeling of a few duckets, and his perswasions so prevailed, as they verily beleeved, that they should within a few moneths bee so reinforced with Spanish aids, as to bee enabled to driue the English out of Ireland.

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## CHAP. X.

*Supplyes of a thousand Foote sent out of England for Mounster. Sir Charles Wilmot with his Regiment sent into Kerry. Iames Archer and Connor Odriscall fled into Spaine. Sir Owen Mac Carties sonnes revolt. Divers Castles taken in Carbery by the Garrisons there. The description of Beare-haven. The description of Baltimore-haven. The description of Castle-haven. The Spanish hostages licensed to depart A Letter from the Lord President to Don Iuan de Aguila.*

**THE** President being come to Corke, he found Sir *Edward Wingfield* with a thousand supplyes lately come forth of England, all which were disposed in the weake Companies that came from Dunboy; in the taking whereof, and the marching thither with the returne, ten weekes were consumed, many men lost by the way, and by sicknesse very much weakened: Notwithstanding so many of the Army as were aboue the old List of Mounster were presently sent to the Lord Deputie by Sir *Samuell Bagnall*, who came for them (as aforesaid) whilst the President was at the siege of Dunboy; Sir *Charles Wilmot* with his Regi-



ment was sent againe into Kerry (which Countrey having therein great store of Corne and Cattle, would otherwise haue beene left open to the Rebels reliefe) with direction to remoue all the Inhabitants with their goods and cattle, over the Mountaine into the small county of Limerick, and such Corne as could not be presently reaped and convaied (as aforesaid) hee was commanded to burne and spoyle the same; the reason whereof was, for that the President having occasion of service neere the heart of the Countrey, as you shall hereafter heare; and also receiving daily intelligence of a great Army provided in Spaine, did not thinke it safe nor convenient, to employ so great a part of his forces in places so remote, considering that good and strong garrisons were needful in the chiefe Cities of the Province, which otherwise would bee open to the Enemy that should attempt them. But in effecting hereof, the Governour found great difficulty, for the harvest (by reason of that winterlike summer) was very backward, and (besides the Irish) the Bishop of Kerry, and certaine English families, which had of late planted themselues there (whose whole estate consisted in that Summers profit) importunately solicited some longer stay: The President being acquainted herewith, unwilling to giue any just occasion of gievance to the Irish, and losse to the English, consented to tollerate their stay for the present, requiring the Governour (in the meane while) to put in execution such services upon the Rebels, as occasion might minister: The fifth of Iuly,



*James Archer* the Iesuit, and *Connor Odriscall*, the eldest Sonne of Sir *Finnin Odrischall*, having gotten a small Barke fled into Spaine.

The two Captaine *Harvies* were left at their old Garrisons in Carberie, Captaine *Roger* at Baltimore, the Lord Presidents Horse there, Captaine *Gawin* at Castlehaven, the Lord Barries Company at Littertonlesse, the Treasurers Company at the Abbey of Strory, Captaine *Stafford* at Old Court, Captaine *Slingesby* at the Church of Shadone, where they wasted and foraged the Countrey, as in a small time it was not able to giue the Rebels any reliefe, having spoiled and brought into their garisons the most part of their corne being newly reaped; from whom the President was certified that the *Carties* of that Countrey did dayly relapse, insomuch as *Donnah Moyle Mac Cartie*, and *Finnie* his Brother, with their followers, (who attended the President at the Siege of Dunboy) had received three hundred pounds Impresse, from *Owen Mac Eggan*, (commonly called the Apostolicall Vicar) in the name of the King of Spaine: They I say upon the tenth of Iuly, 1602, joyned with the Rebels; but in the end they could not greatly vaunt of their winnings, for Captaine *Roger Harvy* got severall Draughts upon them, whereby hee tooke their preyes, and had the killing of many of their men; besides hee tooke from them diverse Castles strongly seated, neere unto the Sea, where Ships might safely ride, and fit places for an



Enemy to hold, as namely, the Castles of Donmaines, Leam-con; Donegall, the Downings, Rancoliskey, and Cape Cleere, and in a word all that stood upon the Sea coast, betweene Dunboy and Castlehaven, except onely the Castles of Kilcoe and Cloghan.

But because we have had often occasions in this relation to speake of the three famous Harbours of Beerehaven, Baltemore and Castlehaven, it seemes to mee necessary in this place to speake something more particularly thereof, according to an exact view taken by the Lord President, and by him remitted to the Lords of Her Majesties Privy Counsell First therefore, the Haven of Beere is situated twelve Miles to the Northward of that Promontory, or fore-land (so well knowne by the name) of Myssenhead, or Caronhead: That which wee properly call Beerehaven, is the Sea which entreth betweene the great Iland (before mentioned) and the Maine, or Countrey called Beere, or *Osulevans* Countrey: At the entrance of the Harbour, it is not above a Musket shot over, I meane from the Castle of Dunboy to the great Iland, being entred; the Tydes are slack, good Anchorage, and convenient places to bring ships on ground, smooth water, five fadomes deepe at low water marke; towards the North ende it groweth much larger, at the least a league over, and of capacitie sufficient to contain all the Ships of Europe.



The great Iland and the Maine as aforesaid makes the Haven, which Iland is seven miles in length, at the South end whereof it joyneth with the Bay of Bantry: when Donboy was unruined, it commaunded this spacious and goodly Haven which affords no small profit to *Osulevan Beare*, whilst his Castle was standing: for the coast yeelds such abundance of Sea-fish, as few places in Christendome doe the like, and many Ships, whereunto at the season of the yeare, (I meane at the fishing time) there was such a resort of Fishermen of all Nations, as *Communibus Annis*, (although the duties which they payed unto *Osulevan* was very little) yet at the least it was worth unto him five hundred pounds yearly.

The second of these Harbours nominated, is Baltimore, called by the Spaniards Valentimore, which is likewise caused by an Island called Innisherkan, two leagues to the Eastward of Cape-cleere, the Havens mouth (at the south end of the Iland aforesaid) ten fathome at low water, but exceeding narrow, by reason of a great Rock that lyeth in the same (always aboue the water) which being within halfe Calliver shot of the better shoare, giveth good opportunity to secure the port; after you are entered, there is a poole about halfe a league ouer, where infinit numbers of ships may ride, having small tides, deepe water, and a good place to Carene ships; at the other end of this Iland (with good pilotage) a ship of two hundred Tunne by day may safely come in, but by reason of



many suncke Rocks, that lye in this entrance, it is not possible for the best Pilot in the world (by night) to assure his entrance. The President for the safetie thereof, thought it meete to erect Blockhouses there, which undoubtedly hee would haue done, if he had continued any long time in Mounster, being so exceeding dangerous to fall into the hands of a powerfull Enemy, as it would bee a worke of much difficulty (after it were once fortified) to displant him, besides, an Enemy there seated would command the best part of Carbery, the soile whereof is good, whereby hee might furnish himselfe with victuals at easie rates.

The last, and indeed the least of these three havens, is Castlehaven, by the Irish called Glanbarraghan, renowned for that memorable Sea fight (lately acted there) by Sir *Richard Lewson* against *Pedro de Zubiaur* (commonly called *Suryago*) the Spanish Admirall: the passage into the Harbour is so narrow that a ship of great burden, especially in a storme, cannot safely enter, and being entered, there is no great space for any number of ships to ride in; but for all other commodities like to the Havens before mentioned, for their is eight faddomes at low water marke, the Castle aptly commands every part of the Harbour, but the grounds round about it, so commands the Castle, as it can by no reasonable charge bee made teneable against the Cannon: but to proceed.



When the composition was made with *Don Iohn de Aguila*, for the rendering of Kinsale, among other Articles it was agreed, that the Spanyards should be shipped away in English or Irish Bottomes, and for the safe returne of the Ships into Ireland, there was three Spanish Captaines (as is formerly declared) left in Corke as Hostages: The Spanyards being all safely arrived at the Groyne, and the Shippess returned, the Lord President according to the Composition, set the Pledges at libertie, and having provided a Barque for their transportation, he wrote unto *Don John de Aguila*, which letter (Englished) was as followeth.

*A Letter from the Lord President to  
Don Iuan de Aguila.*

*AC*ccording to the agreements made at Kinsale betweene the Lord Deputie and your Lordship, these two Captaines, Pedro Suaco, and Diego Gonzales Sigler, (which remained in Corke Pledges for the securitie of the Ships, and the Subjects of the Queene my Mistresse, which transported the Spanyards to the Groyne, are now in this passage in a Ship called the Marie of Corke) returned into Spaine: The third Pledge Don Pedro Morijon, went with the Lord Deputie to the Citie of Dublin, from whence (as I understand) hee is departed into his owne Countrey. Now the agreements which were made betweene the Lord Deputie and your Lordship is on either part fully accomplished; your Lordships



*Letter of the second of Aprill I haue received, but the Wine and Fruits came not to my hands: Nevertheless I acknowledge myselfe much obliged, and render your Lordship humble thanks for your favours, and especially in that I am retained in your memorie: the occasion I did not receiue them, was my being at that time at the siege of the Castle of Beerehaven, which I thanke God is taken, as also many others possest and held by the Rebels, and the Defendants of them chastised, as appertaineth to Traitors: Your Lordships Present unto mee was delivered by the Messenger to the Lord Deputie, hee conceiving that it had beene directed to his Lordship, whereof I am extreme glad, and am as well satisfied with it as if it had come to my owne hands, for the loue I beare unto his Lordship, is no lesse then unto myselfe: I am much grieved, (and at nothing more) then to see that this Countrey produces not any thing worthy to bee presented to your Lordship, that I might in some proportion manifest in what esteeme I holde the favour of a man of your qualitie, Honour, and Merit. If Ireland may yeeld any thing which may bee to your Lordships liking, you may bee assured that your Lordship hath power (at your pleasure) to command both it and mee: So being ready to doe your Lordship all the possible service I may, the differences betweene our Soveraignes reserved, in the which both your Lordship and all the world shall evermore finde mee to be a true*



*Englishman, and a faithfull servant to my Queene and Mistresse: I recommend your Lordship to God, beseeching him to preserue you. Corke the thirteenth of Iuly, 1602.*

Muy Illustre Sennior.

Beso las Manos de V. S.  
Su Servidor,

GEORGE CAREW.

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## CHAP. XI.

*The taking of the Castle of Dunboy was the cause that the Army prepared in Spaine for Ireland was stayed. Two thousand supplies of foote were sent out of England for Mounster. Iohn Fits Thomas his practise to deceiue the Lord President, but failed. A false rumour of a Spanish fleete on the Coast of Mounster. Sir Samuel Bagnall with his Regiment commanded to stay in Mounster.*

**THE** President daily received advertisement, as well by some of the Countrey that had conference with *Owen Mac Eggan*, as also by Merchants and their Agents out of Spaine, which did all agree in one, that succours being prepared and ready to embarque for Ireland; (understanding the losse which the Rebels had received in Beere, and the Castle of Dunboy rased, where they purposed to secure their landing) new directions were brought from the Court of Spaine to the Earle of *Carracena*, Governour of the Groyne, to stay their proceedings in the voyage, till



the Kings pleasure were farther knowen, but yet the Army was not dissolved: the examinations sent by the Lord President into England to the Lords, were found to agree with the intelligence which was sent to her Majestie out of Spaine: wherefore to prevent what danger hereby might ensue, it pleased her Majestie to take present order, that the fleete of ships some her owne, and some Merchants, that had heene upon the Coast of Spaine (the most part of all the Summer) should be revictualled, and lye off and on, in the height of Cape-finister, till towards Michaelmas; that if they proceeded in the intended invasion, either they might fight with them at Sea, or at least follow them to such Harbours of Ireland, where they should arriue, and there distresse them: but the happy successe in the siege of Dunboy, altered the Spanish Councels, for now they had no place in Ireland that held for them: Neverthelesse the coming of new forces from Spaine for Ireland, being still doubted, there was sent from England two thousand foote for the supplying of the List. By this time Sir *Charles Willmot*, as hee was directed, was come out of Kerry, and all the Subjects with their goods and Cattle, were drawn on this side the Mountaine of Slewlogher, whereby the *Bonnoghs* that had lived these fiue moneths, principally upon *Osulevan Beare*, (and by that meanes eaten him up) began to consult about leaving of the Province, there being no man now in action that was able; (for the *Carties* in Carbery had beene so much wasted and



impoverished by the two *Harvies*) as though their hearts were good, yet their meanes failed them to uphold a warre, or any long time to hold them together: Therefore *John of Desmond*, brother to the Sугan Earle, (prisoner in the Tower of London) laboured *Terrill* very instantly to take Bonnaght of them in Connilogh, and for that purpose had inveighed *Morris fits Thomas*, called the Lord of the Clenlis to deliver unto him the strong Castle of Glancoyne, the custodie whereof (to saue her Majesties charge) had beene committed to him the yeare before, and because no suspition might be conceived of the said *John fits Thomas* practise, hee now became a sutor by *Iames Walsh*, (who had beene his brother's Secretary) for a protection, desiring, as hee pretended, to become a Subject upon these conditions: First, if his brother *Iames* (the titular Earle) might bee set at libertie, hee would bee content to become a Pledge for him, either in the Castle of Dublin, or else where the State should appoynt; which being refused and rejected, hee offered to doe service, so that hee might haue his pardon, and some meanes to releue him in the future: But as the President would not bee drawn to accept any of these conditions; so it was thought that hee would haue flyen backe if they had been accepted: But all this Negotiation was but to colour his practises laid for Glancoyne, which Castle and the Fastnesse neere adjoyning, would haue commaunded a great part of that Countrey. But all these Iuglings were discovered by one *V. B.* whom the President without



suspicion maintained amongst them: Wherefore hee sent *Philip Northcot*, the Sherife of the Countie of Limericke, with private Instructions, to surprise both *Maurice fits Thomas*, and the sayd Castle, but either to take both (at one instant) or to meddle with neither. The Sherife watching many opportunities, and not speeding of his purpose; the President to prevent future danger, committed the custodie of the said Castle to Sir *Francis Barkely*, and so disappointed the Rebels of that hope.

About the latter end of this moneth of *August*, a rumour was generally divulged through the Province, that the Spanyards were upon the coast, and that certaine Ships were discovered from the olde Head of Kinsale, and presently after that foure and twentie sayle were arriued at Bearhauen, and hereupon you might see Horsemen galloping this way, and that way, to and fro, with such signes of gladness & apparent joy, as though the day of their deliverance were neere at hand; but as it fell out, this was but a false allarme, the Ships that were descryed being a Fleet of Easterlings bound to the Southward. The President heereby discerning with what assured hopes they apprehended their comming, and with what glad hearts they should be welcome, (being come) he became an earnest & humble suitor to the Lord Deputie: That Sir *Samuel Bagnals* Regiment lately called out of Mounster, (by his Lordships Command) might with his favour be returned againe. The Lord De-



putie taking an honourable care of that Province, finding by his own intelligence, that the Spanyards were purposed to make their discent either in Mounster, or in the parts of Connaght, (not far dis-joynd) condescended unto the Presidents request, whereupon the said Colonell with his Regiment were directed to Limrick, there to remaine in Garison.

During the siege of Kinsale there was a young Gentleman of the *Carties*, called *Teg Mac Cormock*, sonne to that well deserving Gentleman Sir *Cormock Mac Teg*, who being of the Presidents Troope of Horse, through the inticements of the Rebels, and promises of the Spanyards, was induced to combine with the Enemie, and stealing away his Horse and Hackney, entred into action; But the successe of his Confederates not prooving so fortunate (as they hoped) hee grew weary of the Rebellion, and made himselfe a Suitor to the President to be received to mercy, as may appeare by his Letter here ensuing.



## CHAP. XII.

*A Letter from Teg Mac Cormock Cartie to the  
Lord President, intreating the remission  
of his Offences.*

*A Letter from Teg Mac Cormock Cartie to the Lord President, intreating the remission of his offences. Cormock Mac Dermond Cartie accused of sundry treasons. Cormock Mac Dermond committed. The Castle of Blarny in the custody of Captaine Taffe. The Castle and Abbey of Killcrey rendred to the Lord President. Mocrumpe besieged. Cormocks Wife and Children imprisoned. Cormock Mac Dermond plotted his escape.*

**R**ight Honourable, my dutie most humbly remembered; Having long forborne, though thereby disquieted in mind, and ashamed of myselfe to send unto your Honour: Yet presuming upon her Majesties mercie and your favour, I haue made bold to become a Petitioner to your Honour, that it may please you to admit me thereunto, and to forgive and forget my faults, considering they were not malicious, but youthfull, and not of pretence to hurt her Majestie or her Subjects, but in hope to recover against my Cosen *Cormock Mac Dermody*, some meanes to maintaine my decayed estate, and still likely to be suppressed by his greatnesse, who will by no meanes giue me a portion of land to liue upon, as was promised upon the delivery up of Kilcrey by your Honour, wherein as of the rest, I doe againe humbly beseech your favour, and so as with a repentant and penitent transgressor of



the Lawes, I doe humbly submit myselfe to her Majesties grace, and will endeavour myselfe hereafter by my good deeds and services, to wipe out the memory of my former follies : Expecting your favourable Answer, I most humbly take my leaue. From *Carrigifuky* this ninth of *Iune*, 1602.

Your Honours most humble  
to commaund,

*Teg Mac Cormock Cartie.*

But the President had conceived such a deepe displeasure (and not undeserved) against him, as hee protested against all favour to be extended towards him, except hee did merit and deserue the same by some signall service. This young man finding himselfe exposed to a desperate fortune, and abandoned to ruine, unlesse hee could worke his reconciliation ; and besides bearing no good will to his cosen *Cormuck Mac Dermond* the Lord of Muskerry, for some controversie about title of Lands betweene them, desired a safe conduct to come to the President, promising to reveale unto him, such matters of importance, as might happily make satisfaction for his former offences ; his motion was hearkened unto, and a protection granted for three dayes, within which time hee presented himselfe before his Lordship, and delivered unto him in private, that hee was able to avouch and prove divers capitall matters of notorious treasons, in his kinsman



*Cormock Mac Dermond*: First that hee had underhand traffique with *Don Iohn de Aguila*, Letters ordinarily passing betweene him and the said *Cormock*, and in particular, hee averred, that hee saw *Don Iohn* himselfe to deliver unto *Iames Galde Butler*, (*Cormocks* wiues brother) two Letters, the one from the King, and the other from the Church; but from what particular Church-man hee could not certainly affirme, but by all probability it should seeme to bee from the Pope; these two Letters were by him sent to bee delivered to *Cormock* aforesaid, together with his owne commendations in these words: Commend me to your brother in law *Cormock*, and deliver him these two Letters, the one from the King and the other from the Church, which were the same night delivered: Moreover hee was deposed (by vertue of which oath he affirmed) that upon his knowledge, *Cormock* had secret conference with *Owen Mac Eggan*, since his last arrivall out of Spaine, and that from him hee had received eight hundred duckets impresse, and thereupon had accorded to yeeld into the Spaniards hands (immediately upon their landing) his strong Castle of the Blarny, situate within two miles of Corke, which deposition was afterwards confirmed by the testimony and evidence of sundry other credible personages; these informations concurring with the examinations of *Dermond Mac Cartie*, by the Spaniards called *Don Dermutio* (executed at Corke, of whom before you haue heard) and also manifold proofes, existing of his often combination



with *Tyrone*, *Odonnell*, *Florence Mac Cartie*, and *James fits Thomas*, with other triviall treasons, ordinary amongst these Provincials: The President with the advice of the Provinciall Councell, thought it a matter of very dangerous consequence, to permit such grosse and palpable treasons to escape unpunished, the tolleration whereof might breed such intollerable boldnesse in these people, that her Majesties politicke government, and authority temporall, would grow no lesse contemptible then the Ecclesiasticke; against the which the best seeming Subjects were refractory; to prevent therefore such future mischief as might ensue by longer protraction, it was thought fit, that during the time of these Sessions (then in hand) the said *Cormocke* should bee apprehended, and committed to safe custody untill such time as the originall and depth of his offences (being found out) hee might bee brought to his triall, according to due course in Law: the day and time therefore being appoynted for his commitment, which was about the eighteenth of August, the President the same morning (to avoyd all suspition) tooke a journey to Kinsale, to view the fortifications in Castle ny Parke, leaving behind him double directions concerning *Cormock*; first for his Castle of Blarney, which is one of the largest and strongest Castles within the Province of Mounster, for it is fower piles joyned in one, seated upon a maine Rock, so as it is free from myning, the wall eightene foote thicke, and well flankted, at each corner to the best advantage: considering therefore the difficulty



that might grow in taking this Castle by force, the President gave direction to Sir *Charles Wilmot*, and Captaine *Roger Harvie* (taking for their guard a Sergeant with foure and twenty foote) to make shew of going only to hunt the Bucke in the parts neere adjoyning, and being hot and weary, betweene the houres of ten and eleven of the clock in the forenoone, to take the said Castle in their way homeward, and calling for wine and vsquebagh (whereof Irish Gentlemen are seldome disfurnished) should (if it were possible) themselves first, and their Souldiers afterward draw into the Castle, and gaine possession thereof; and the chiefe Iustice *Saxey* likewise had direction to call *Cormock* before him in the publicke Sessions; and taking occasion of defect and delay, about certaine prisoners, whom hee should haue forth comming at these Assizes, should at the same hower (before appoynted) commit him to the Gentleman Porter, till the Presidents pleasure should be farther knowen at his returne from Kinsale: this later order concerning his person was accordingly effected, but the former stratageme about the Castle was frustrated: for the warders, whether out of the jealous costume of the Nation in generall (which is not to admit any strangers in their masters absence to come into their Castles,) or whether *Cormock* in his guiltinesse had given them such directions, I know not, but sure I am that neither Sir *Charles*, (though he much importuned to see the roomey within) nor any of his company were permitted to goe into the Gate of the Castle nor



hardly to looke within the gate of the Bawne: The President was no sooner returned to Corke, but one of *Cormocks* Followers saluted him with a Petition, relating at large the hard measure that his Master had received from the chiefe Iustice, to whom answer was made, that hee would call for the chiefe Iustice before him, and being satisfied from him of all particulars, order should bee taken that no unjust nor sinister proceedings should be taken against him; in the meane time hee must be content to submit himselfe, and be menable unto Law: Now did the time better permit the offences formerly committed, to be pursued by course of Iustice, for could he but haue gathered by probable conjecture, of the discovery of any part of these treacheries (before his apprehension) he had in readinesse one thousand men of his owne Followers) well armed to haue stept with him into action upon the first alarme,

The combination lately by *Cormocke* contracted with the Priest *Owen Mac Eggan*, being manifestly prooved by severall witnesses, subject to no Exceptions, the Gentleman Porter, (called Master *Raph Hammon*) was commaunded to bring the Prisoner before the President and Councell, which were assembled at *Shandon* Castle, who making his apparance, was charged with the severall treasons afore recited, who insisted very much upon his Iustification, pretending that those accusations were injuriously devised, and slanderously suggested by his Enemies,



especially for the last Article, concerning the Conspiracie with the Priest *Mac Eggan*, (which indeed was so cunningly and secretly caryed, as he supposed, that it was rather presumed then prooved against him; Hee renounced all favour and pardon, if it would bee justified by lawfull testimony. The President replied, that this was the onely matter of substance that he was charged withall, the former being pardoned since the perpetrating thereof, being onely inducements and presumptions whereby they were the rather mooved to giue eare and credit to the latter accusation: But hee still persisting in his Innocencie, was at last urged with this *Dilemma*, namely, that either hee should confesse his fault, and so intreat her Majesties mercy, or else in token of his loyall and guiltlesse heart, he should deliver unto the State his Castle of *Blarney*, upon condition, that if the fact whereof he was charged, were not evidently prooved against him, the sayd Castle should be redelivered to him or his assignes by a day appointed. At first hee seemed very inclinable to the motion, but in processe it was perceived that hee intended nothing but jugling and devices; wherefore a Warrant from the whole Body of the Councell, was directed to the sayd Gentleman Porter, straightly charging and commanding that he should be kept in yrons closer then before, untill he should demeane himselfe in more dutifull conformitie; And besides, they ap-  
poynted Captaine *Taffe*, (in whom *Cormock* reposed much trust) to perswade him to surrender the sayd



Castle into the Presidents hands, undertaking upon his credit, to retaine the same, and all the goods in it, or neere thereunto, belonging either to himselfe or his followers from losse and danger, either by Subject or Rebell. *Cormocke* at last finding that the President was resolved either to make him bend or breake, caused his Constable, (though much against his will) to yeeld the said Castle to Captaine *Taffe*, so that no other (whatsoever) might haue the charge or custodie thereof. The Prisoner besides the Castle of *Blarney*, had two places (kept by his Dependants) of good importance to commaund the Countrey; the one an Abbey called *Kilcrey*, distant from *Corke* six myles, and the other a Castle called *Mocrumpe*, sixteene miles distant from *Corke*; the former scituated upon the South, and the latter upon the North side of the River of *Lee*. The Castle and Abbey of *Kilcrey* was rendered to Captaine *Francis Slingsbie*, sent thither by the President; But *Mocrumpe* seated in the heart of *Muskrey*, and invironed round about with woods and bogges, could not be gotten without the countenance of an Armie; therefore the President sent first Captaine *Flower*, and afterward<sup>s</sup> Sir *Charles Wilmott*, with competent numbers of Foot and Horse to lye before it, untill such time as they might gaine it by Sapp or Myne, or by some other stratagem, as time and occasion should minister opportunity. During this siege the President cast about for his wife and children, and having gotten them likewise into his hands, confined them within



the walles of Corke. These things thus accomplished, the President dispatched Letters both to the Lords of her Majesties Privie Councell of *England*, and also to the Lord Deputie and Councell of *Ireland*, relating unto them the apprehension of *Cormocke* and the reasons inducing him thereunto, desiring also to receiue their Lordships pleasures for his further proceedings in this businesse; but before answer could bee returned, an unfortunate accident unexpected altered the whole platforme of this intended service: For *Cormocks* followers had plotted his escape, and likewise to procure *Cormock Oge* his eldest sonne, (who was then a Student in Oxford) to bee convayed secretly out of the Vniversitie, and to be brought into *Ireland*, or as some thought to bee sent into *Spaine*; for effecting whereof, *Iohn O Healy*, one of *Cormocks* old theeues, was (the next passage) to be sent into *England*: Advertisement hereof was brought to the President, who for preventing of both these Designes, first sent for the Gentleman Porter, delivered unto him at large the great prejudice that should arise to her Majesties Service, if the prisoner should escape, that the Queenes charge, and his owne paines and laborious travell, were all frustrated: yea if the Spaniards should arriue (as they were expected) the whole kingdome of *Ireland* should receiued hazard and prejudice by it: Wherefore he charged him upon his duty to the State, his allegiance to her Majestie, and in the loue he bare unto himself, that hee would bee no



lesse carefull of his safe keeping, then of his owne life, which in some sort depended thereon: Answer was made by *Hammon*, that his Lordship should not need to trouble his minde with any such imaginary doubts: for if shackles of yron, walles of stone, and force of men, (for hee had certaine Souldiers allowed him for a Guard) could make him sure, then should the Prisoner bee forthcoming, whensoever the State should bee pleased to call for him, and for *Iohn O Healy*, the President held a watchful eye over him, but it was not thought good to make stay of him untill he should be aboard the ship, that such Instructions and Letters as should bee sent by him, might with himselfe bee apprehended, whereby the whole circumstance of these plots, and the chiefe Agents therein might bee discovered: to make short, the wind was faire, the Master hasteth aboard, the Mariners and Passengers purposing to set saile the next tyde; amongst the rest *Iohn O Healy* unregarded (as hee thought) is also on shipboard, but hee was much deceived in his opinion, for presently a Messenger sent from the State, found him in the hold; when he began to search him for his Letters, he making shew to deliver them willingly (upon a suddaine) threw both his Letters and money into the Sea; which although it did plainly demonstrate apparent guiltinesse, yet could hee never afterwards bee wrought to confesse either the contents of the one, or the summe of the other, pretending ignorance in both, whereupon hee was committed to the common Gaole.



But let us leaue *Cormock* for a while with the Gentleman Porter, and his man in the Goale, and speake of other accidents and matters of State, which at this time were handled.

Upon the second of September, the Lord President received Letters from the Lords of the Councell, wherein they signified unto him, how well her Majestie and themselues liked of his services performed in Mounster, with many other things worthy to be remembred, which importeth me in this place to relate the true copie of the originall Letter.

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### CHAP. XIII.

*A Letter from the Lords of the Councell to the Lord President. Instructions for Captaine Harvie to write into Spaine. A Letter written by her Majesties owne hand to the Lord President. A Letter from the Lord President to her Majestie. A Letter from Captaine Harvie to Pedro Lopez de Soto, the Spanish Veador. A Letter from O Donnell to O Connor Kerry. A Letter from Don Iuan de Aguila to the Lord President. A Letter from the Lord President to Don Iuan de Aguila. Captain Harvies Passeport sent to the Veador. The Lord Presidents Passeport for Captaine Edny into Spaine. Spanish intelligence sent from Master Secretary Cecill to the Lord President. The Lord Presidents opinion sent to Master Secretary of a defensiu warre in Ireland.*

A Letter from the Lords of the Councell to  
the Lord President.

**AFTER** our heavy Commendations: Wee haue  
(according to our dueties) imparted to her Majestie



*your dispatch of the seven and twentieth of Iuly, who hath conceived so great liking of your proceedings, as she hath commanded us to take notice of the same, in the most gracious tearmes that our owne heart could wish, being likewise most desirous that the Army (under you) as well in generall, as those Gentlemen and Officers in particular, who haue so valiantly exposed themselves to danger (as appeareth by your particular relation) may know, that they haue ventured their liues for a Prince, who holdeth them so deare, as if shee could preserue her estate and them, without the losse and hazard of them, there is nothing which she possesseth (of her owne) which she would spare to redeeme their trouble and danger. It remaineth now that wee acquaint what is done by her Majestie, to prevent the purposes of the King of Spaine, wherein wee cannot but much commend the apprehension you take of those advertisements you haue, and the judgment you use in applying the same, for the safetie of that Province, the defection whereof, as wee are sorry to find by so understanding a person as you are: So doe wee hope when it shall appeare (as it doth daily in all parts of Ireland) that God doth blesse her Majesties Army against the Rebels, and that the King of Spaine shall find himselfe not so at ease, as to employ any Army there in haste, that, that lacke of duety and ingratitude (which doth now liue in them) will either dye in it selfe, and turne to the contrary, or else that God will (as hee hath begun) confound them in their owne malicious inven-*



tions: *It is very true, that her Majesties owne advertisements doe confirme, that a Pinnace of fiftie Tunne, was sent with some of Odonnels Followers, and some treasure, to assure the Rebels of an Army to come into Ireland, which Pinnace being once put to Sea, was forced backe againe to Vinera, but they parted thence againe within three or fower dayes after, which is the same that landed at Ardea, whereof your Letters make mention: wee haue also assured advertisements that her Majesties fleete, (being kept on the Coast) hath much hindered the Spanish designes, not that they were fully ready to come forth, but because the fleete kept their preparations from drawing to a head, for this next moneth is the time, which is the fittest for them to put to Sea, if her Majesties fleete doe not hinder them: For which purpose, though now most of her ships (being long at Sea, and come in with the carrick, yet they are going out againe with all possible speed.) You shall further understand, that her Majestie hath beene acquainted of the Letters of complements, betweene Don Iohn and you, the Copies being sent over by the Deputie, by Sir Oliver Saint-Iohn, whereof you now send the originall. At which time, he sent her Majestie his owne and kept no counsell, that hee had intercepted your great bribe: wee haue also seene the Letter of Soto, to Captaine Harvie, and the Passeport of whose conference (from which Passeport also proceeded) her Majesty conceiveth that you may make some good use for her service, in this forme following: Where it doth appeare by Odonnels*



*Letter to O Connor Kerry out of Spaine, that hee is desirous to understand the State of Ireland; but so as if there bee any bad, it may bee concealed from the Spaniards: Captaine Harvie may in requitall of the Veadors curtesie towards him use this freedome (of a Gentleman) though an enemy, to let him see how much the King of Spaine is abused by the Rebels, who seeke to engage him upon false hopes, and conceale just causes of doubts, for which purpose hee shall send him Odonnels owne Letter, which hee cannot deny, and withall in any case (it being well overseene by you) make him a relation of the successes of her Majesties Army; now if it may bee said, that they will thinke this Letter is aposted, and take this to be a finesse in Harvie; the worst that can come, is, that this good may ensue: That under colour of sending that to him, there may some person goe in the ship, who may discover what preparations there is in that place; for the better colouring whereof, hee may reply, that where hee hath sent him a Passeport for the safe conduct of any person whatsoever, hee should send to negotiate in the matter (which passed betweene them in conference) that he looked rather to have received from him, who was the Propounder of the same (with so great affection,) some such overture from that side, as might have given him foundation to breake with the Deputy, or your selfe, to send over to her Majesty about it, for which purpose he may offer him, as good a Passeport for any of his Messengers, as he hath sent to himselfe, it being very great reason that*



*such a motion should proceed from that side rather, which hath opened itselfe with greatest violence, then from any of her Majesties Ministers, who have instead of their malicious attempt, performed all offices of honour and humanity. And so much for answer of that poynt.*

*For your opinion concerning such places as are fit to bee fortified, her Majestie doeth very well approoue the reasons whereupon the same is grounded, being such indeed as ought to sway her Maiesties Iudgements either one way or other; for as it is true, that charge is well forborne which draweth with it perill, so it is a double danger to spend in any place, where safetie followeth not such a charge: And therefore if you doe continue in the minde, that Baltimore is like to bee of greatest use to the Enemie, both in regard of the Haven it selfe, and of the Countrey adjoyning, and that some such Fortification may bee rayzed as may commaund the Haven, without any great charge, her Maiestie is content that you doe proceed; Otherwise if you doe thinke that whensoever any forces shall descend, that the place so fortified cannot hold out for any time, then her Maiestie doeth like it better, both there and else where, that those Castles which you doe winne from the Irish, seated upon the Sea, bee utterly demolished, rather then to bee left for the Rebels to nestle in at their first arrivall, and easier to be furnished by them for their great advantage. In which poynt of Fortifications, because you may see the*



*temper of her Maiesties mind, that useth meane in all things, and knoweth when to spend, and when to spare, in both which never Prince was so little subiect to private humour, either one way or other, further then stood with the safetie of her state and people, over which her care is rather to bee admired then matched: Wee doe send you an extract of her owne Letter to the Lord Deputie, how hee should governe himselfe in that poynt, whereof wee feare you haue not yet had notice, in respect that the distance betweene you and him, is well neere the longitude of Ireland. For the Artillery which you haue taken, if you finde them necessarie for that Kingdome, shee is well pleased that they bee detayned, as well to serue for a scourge to them that brought them, (if againe they renew their attempt) as to prevent the inconveniencie and charge of their transportation hither: But if you finde them not necessary for that place, but that Iron may doe as good service, you may transport them in some of the Victuallers, when they doe returne from that Province; And so wee doe commit you to Gods protection. From the Court at Greenwich this eighteenth of Iuly, 1602.*

Your very loving Friends,

|                              |                         |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>Thomas Egerton. C. S.</i> | <i>Thomas Buchurst,</i> |
| <i>Notingham.</i>            | <i>Iohn Stanhope.</i>   |
| <i>Robert Cecill.</i>        | <i>Iohn Fortescue,</i>  |



At the same time also he received a gracious Letter written by her Majestie with her owne hands, which multiplied his comforts, thinking all his laborious endeavours to bee fully recompensed, in that they were so graciously accepted.

*A Letter written by her Majesties owne hand  
to the Lord President.*

Your Sovereigne, *E. R.*

*MY Faithfull George, how joyed Wee are, that so good event hath followed so toylesome endeavors, laborious cares, and heedfull travells, you may guesse, but Wee can best witnesse; and doe protest, that your safetie hath equalled the most thereof: And so God ever blesse you in all your actions.*

Not many dayes after the receipt of this gracious Letter, the President in his next dispatch into England, wrote vnto her Majestie this Letter following.

*A Letter from the Lord President to  
her Majestie.*

SACRED MAIESTIE,

*IF I could sufficiently expresse the Ioy which my heart conceived, when I beheld a Letter written by your Royall hand, and directed unto mee, (who in*



*your service haue merited little, though in zeale, faith and loyaltie equall to any) your Maiestie would not in your more then abounding Charitie, mislike your paines, having thereby rayased the deieted spirit of a poore Creature, exiled from that blessing which others enioy in beholding your Royall Person, whose beautie adornes the world, and whose wisdom is the myracle of our age. Gracious Soveraigne, three yeares are now almost fully expired, since my imploiment (into this kingdome) tooke his beginning; during which time, rest in body and minde hath been a stranger unto mee; and overwearied in both, I doe most humbly beseech your Maiestie, (if this Realme bee not invaded from Spaine, whereof in a few dayes true Iudgement may be made) to graunt mee leaue, but onely for two moneths this Winter to attend you in your Court; which small time of respiring, and at that time of the yeare, can bee no hinderance to the Service, and yet sufficient to releue my minde, and enable my body, which now is not so strong (as I could wish) to doe your Maiestie that service I ought. Ireland is destitute of learned men of English birthe and with Irish Physicians (knowing the good will they beare mee) if they were learned I dare not adventure: The longer I am without remedy, the lesse, and the lesse time I shall bee able to serue you: But as I am your Majesties Creature, so I doe submit the consideration of my humble and just suit, to your Princely consideration, at whose Royall feete,*



*and in whose Service I am howerly ready to sacrifice my life. From your Majesties Citie of Corke, the nine and twentieth of September, 1602.*

Your Sacred Majesties most  
humble Vassall and Servant,

GEORGE CAREW.

After the President had received their Lordships instructions (in their Letters aforementioned) hee framed an answer for Captaine *Harvie*, written in French to the Veador; and also a French Passeport, the Copies whereof Englished, I thinke it meete to relate, and with them the Letter from *Odonnell*, formerly touched by their Lordships.

*A Letter from Captaine Harvie to Pedro  
Lopez de Soto, the Spanish  
Veador.*

Sir, after your departure it pleased God to visit mee with such extreme sicknesse, as all my thoughts were fixed upon another life, supposing that my dayes had beene determined: By reason whereof, together with my feeblenesse and absence, I had not the meanes to acquaint the Lord President, with the passages betwixt us untill now, that the time prefixed in your passeport is almost expired.



which I could not by any meanes remedy: Sir I haue of late received a Letter from you, dated the ninth of Aprill, 1602. by the which I perceiue that you are desirous that I should send a Messenger, to giue you a taste (as I conceiue) concerning the discourse which passed betweene us, which truely I would willingly haue done, if I had not been visited with sicknesse: But now finding by the opinion of all men, that his Majestie is resolved to continue the warre against the Sacred person of my Soveraigne: Although in my heart (as a Christian) I wish a firme unity betweene their Majesties, the which by their Ancestors hath been so long time (to the comfort of their subjects) religiously continued: Yet now understanding the great preparations which the King is in making, for the invasion of her Majesties Dominions: I confesse I am not so passionate for the peace as I was, and I haue no reason to make any overture of your discourse to the Lord President, there being so little probability of a peace to ensue: Wherefore if you thinke it good, that the matter we speak of, should be set on foote, because you were the first mover of it (wherein you manifest your zeale) I pray you to write unto mee, that I may understand, whether his Majestie will giue eare to a peace or no, whereof you need not be scrupulous to speake freely, since you see by experience, that when your designe did giue us cause of revenge, we did intreat you with honour and humanity; when I shall know your answer, I will deale



effectually with the Lord President; with whom aswell in kindred as in affection, I haue such interest as you haue heard, and of whose worth and sufficiencie you haue bin well informed, assuring you that if hee will put his hand unto it, it will much advance the busines: I am not in despaire of his inclination to a peace, if by your answer hee may perceiue that you proceed roundly: I marvell much that his Majestie and the Lords of his Councell, lend their eares so much unto this traitorly barbarous nation, who from their Cradles haue beene nourished in falshood and treasons, masking (of late) their actions under the vaile of religion, whereof the truth is, that in their hearts they haue neither feare of God, nor faith to men: And that from henceforth you may not bee blinded, and see their fraud, wherewith they beguile his Majestie, unto whom they protest sincerity, I doe send you here inclosed a Letter signed by the hand of the Traytor *Odonnell* written to a friend of his in this Province of Mounster, called *O Connor Kerry*, which was found in the Castle of Beerehaven, the which by her Majesties forces (under the conduct of the President in person) was within the space of seven dayes taken and razed, and the Rebels put to the sword, and their Companions with all their forces lodging neere unto them, but (according to their custome) they durst not second nor aid them, but left them to destruction: By the which Letter you shall see (as cleere as the day) how this Traytor *Odonnell* onely tempers a baite to deceiue the King



your Master, like unto all the rest of this nation, who do but temporize to worke their own advantage by it: To relate unto you truely in what estate these Rebels liue at this present, howsoever they may protest and dissemble their affaires, or write from hence, I protest upon my soule, That *Tirone* workes all he may to be received into the fauour and mercy of our Soveraigne, and that all the Lords and Chiefs of the North that followed him on the day of the rowt at Kinsale, and others of those parts haue submitted themselues to the Lord Deputie, and for securitie haue put in their Pledges for their future loyalties: And *Tirone* (with his weake Troupes) haue beene so sharply prosecuted, that as a fugitiue (being enforced to quit his own Countrey) hee seekes out Coverts, Bogges, and Woods; The Lord Deputie without impeachment passes from place to place, and holds all Vlster in subjection: The other Provinces of Leinster and Connaght, are reduced to obedience, and the Province of Munster (where I remaine) is so much at the commandment of the Lo. President, as if he would receiue to mercy all the Traytors that seeke to bee received, and promise to liue as good subjects there would bee no rebels left. And amongst others, *Osulevan*, who hath given you the best assurance, and of whom (as I think) you haue most confidence, doth daily make suit to be restored to the Queens favour, and this I assure you from the mouth of the Lo. President. Moreover (as the vulgar can informe you) the Pre-



sident absolutely commands in this Province, and the traitors (whose requests he rejects) are so few and so weake, as they liue like unto wolues and foxes, flying from one place to another, onely to assure their liues, which kind of life cannot long endure. But if the King your Master will persevere to ayd these poore traitors, you shall see us (when you shall enterprize it) in better point then wee were, it not being in your power to surprize any Port or place of importance; and if it bee your chance to come hither in person, you shall find it to be true, whereof in my particular (in regard of the honour I beare you) I should be exceeding sorry. The Bearer hereof *Walter Edney* my Lieutenant, whom you know by sight, in his fatherly loue to his dearest Son, whom he placed in the service of Captaine *Pedro Enriques de Tejada*, lately deceased, hath intreated the Lord President to licence him to see his sonne, to the end that he might supply his necessary wants, for default whereof he may otherwise perish; which occasion I willingly embraced, whereby I might write unto you, and by that means receiue your answer, beseeching you to extend your favour unto him, during his abode in *Spaine*, I will doe the like for all such as depend upon you, if they shall happen to arriue in this Kingdome. And to the end that I might the more fully know your answer, and haue the better meanes to treat the more effectually in these affayres, which are of such consequence, I pray you to send one from you well instructed, that I may bring him



to the Lo. President, which will much advance the businesse you desire. And as you haue given mee a Pasport for such as I should send unto you, (whereof by reason of my sicknesse I could make no use) I doe send you the like here inclosed, which shall be of force untill the end of *February* 1602: Even so Sir being ever ready (my allegiance to my Sovereigne excepted) to doe you all friendship and service, I pray God to preserue you in health according to your own desire. From *Corke* the 17 of *September*, 1602.

*Yours affectionately to doe you Service,*

*A Monsieur,*

*Monsieur Pedro Lopez de Soto, Veador  
generall for his Majestie of Spaine,  
deliver these at the Groyne.*

*Roger Harvie.*

Sir, I had forgotten one thing, which is to pray you to affoord your favour to my Lieutenant, that hee may vent his Merchandizes transported thither, and returne others, which he carries onely by the meanes of Traffique, for the defraying of his charges. I will doe the like for any of yours that you shall send hither.

*Roger Harvy.*



A Passeport of Captaine *Harvies* sent to the  
Veador.

**I** Roger Harvie, *Captaine of a foote Company, and Governor for her Majestie of Castle-haven and Baltimore, &c.* For certaine causes concerning her *Majesties* service, I doe giue this free *Passeport* to such ship and Messenger as Don Pedro Lopez de Soto (*Veador* generall for the *King of Spaine*) shall send into this province of *Mounster* in *Ireland*, betweene the date of this present, and the last of *February* 1602. And if it shall happen that any of her *Majesties* ships, or any other of her *Subjects*, shall meete with the said *Ship*, or that by force of wind they shall be enforced upon the *Coast of England*, or into any part within the *Realme of Ireland*: In her *Majesties* name I pray and require every of them that they may bee friendly entreated and that the *Messenger* without any impediment may bee permitted to haue free recourse unto me, and to vent their merchandize, being requisite for the *Queens* service: Dated at *Corke* the seventeenth of *September*, 1602.

Roger Harvie.

To all Admirals, Viceadmirals, Governours  
Magistrates, and Officers, and to all  
other her *Majesties* loyall and obedient  
*Subjects*, unto whom this shall or may  
appertaine.



*A Letter from Odonnell to Oconner Kerry.*

What newes are here, the Doctor and *Dermond Odrischal* may largely report unto you; but of this one thing you may bee fully assured; that the King will not omit the winning of Ireland, if it cost him the most part of Spaine: His Majestie doth send you money and munition. I pray let our enformation of you bee found true, and your service encourage our King to further merit you: I pray you send mee the relation of the newes of our Countrey, in such sort, as if there bee any bad, it may be concealed from the Spaniards, and known to me; where the Deputie with the Queens forces are occupied, or where they are in Garrison: At the Groyne, the foure and twentieth of May, 1602.

Your loving Friend

To his loving Friend      *Hugh Odonnell.*  
*O Connor Kerry,*  
 these giue in Ireland.

At the same time, when *Pedro Lopez de Soto* the Veador, wrote to Captaine *Harvie*, *Don Iohn de Aguila*, did write unto the Lord President, and sent him a present of wines, Lymmons, Orenge, &c. And to doe him a farther curtesie, hee gaue him assurance, that his Passeports should bee sufficient for any man, that hee would employ into Spaine, if hee had any cause to send thither: This Letter the Presi-



dent sent to the Lords of the Councell in England, who authorised him both to write unto him, and to returne him a Present, if he were so disposed; The copie of *Don Iohns* Letter, and the Presidents unto him translated out of the Spanish doe here ensue.

A Letter from *Don Iuan de Aguila* to the  
Lord President.

**M**Vy illustre Sennor: *To say the truth, I am very glad that I am in Spaine, and that the passage was good which I was to make. I confesse unto your Lordship, that I am so much obliged for the honourable and good termes, which the Lord Deputy and your Lordship used there in the service of your Prince, in all things which concerned me, that I desire some apt occasion to manifest my selfe to be a good paymaster (as I ought) for these courtesies, and for the assurance thereof, your Lordship may send securely to me, to command any thing you please for your service: And that your Ship and Passeport shall bee friendly received: And for that in this Countrey, there is no fruit of more estimation than Wines of Ripadavia, Limmons and Orenge, these few are sent to make a prooffe thereof, and the willingnesse I haue to serue your Lordship; whom I commend to God: From the Groyne the second of Aprill, 1602.*

Muy illustre Sennor,  
Beso las manos a V. S.  
Su Servidor.

Don Iuan de Aguila.



*A Letter from the Lord President to Don Iuan  
de Aguila.*

**M***Vy illustre Sennor*, I doubt not but that your Lordship hath received my Letters of the thirteenth of Iuly, sent in answer of yours of the second of Aprill, by the Captaines *Suaco* and *Sigler*, and I rest so well satisfied of the good tearmes, wherein wee stand, as I am desirous to doe your Lordship some agreeable service; at that time there was no occasion for mee to make use of the Passeport, and offer your Lordship made me, for security of that man or ship which I should send into those parts: But now this bearer Captaine *Walter Edney*, whose Sonne served Captaine *Pedro Enriques de Tejada* (lately deceased) having prayed mee to giue him licence, and my Passeport to see his Sonne: To supply him of his necessary wants, I beseech your Lordship that he may (according to your promise) safely and securely passe and returne, which favour I shall thankfully acknowledge: And whensoever your Lordship shall haue occasion to send any of yours into these parts, hee shall bee vsed with the like courtesie: I haue received profit by the booke of fortification which your Lordship left me at your departure, and hold it as a Relique in memory of you, and as a good Scholler I haue put some things in practise, whereof your Lordship at your returne hither againe (which I hope in God will be never)



may be a witnesse, whether I haue committed any error in the art or no. My greatest defect hath beene the want of the helpe of so great a Master as your Lordship is, of whom I am desirous to learne, not onely that art, but in all else concerning military profession, in the which I doe giue your Lordship the preheminance: To conclude, I rest in all I may (my dutie reserved to the Queene my mistresse) affectionately ready at your Lordships service, and so kissing your hands. I beseech God to preserue you with many happy yeares: From Corke the seventeenth of September, 1602.

Although here is nothing to be had worthy the presenting unto your Lordship, yet I make bold to present you with an ambling Hackney.

*Muy illustre Signior,  
Beso las manos a  
V.S. su Servidor.*

GEORGE CAREW,

The man whom the Lord President made choise of, to carry these Letters to *Pedro Lopez de Soto*, and to *Don Iohn de Aguila*, was *Walter Edney*, Lieutenant unto Captaine *Harvie*, who was an ingenious man of good discretion, and well experienced, aswell in Land as Sea service, and the better to disguise his employment hee had a Sonne in Spaine, a Page unto Captaine *Pedro Enrique*, who after rendering of Kinsale (the Captaine aforesaid) casting an affection to the boy, moved *Don Iohn*, to entreate the President that he might haue the youth to serue him,



which was granted, and within a few moneths after the Spaniards returne the Captaine dyed; and to put a farther maske upon his employment, the President fraighted a small Barke loaden with Irish commodities, and in it a choise Irish horse, with a rich pad and furniture, and some other trifles which he sent to *Don Iohn de Aguila*: and for his safetie hee had two Passeports with him, the one from Captaine *Harvie*, the other from the President; the Presidents Passeport here ensueth.

By the Lord President of Mounster,  
in Ireland.

**I** Sir GEORGE CAREW, *Lieutenant generall of the Artillery, for her Sacred Majestie the Queene of England, in that her kingdome, and her Highnesse Lord President for the Province of Mounster in Ireland, doe certifie that I haue licensed Captaine Walter Edney to goe into Spaine, to visit his Sonne remayning there, and to returne hither within two moneths after the date hereof; this being agreeable with the allowance and power which Don Iohn de Aguila did giue me (at his being here) the copy whereof is hereunto annexed. Giuen at Corke the seventeenth of September, 1602.*

G. C.



Of these dispatches for Spaine enough being said, it is time to returne to the passages in Mounster, but first I must relate unto you, the newes from Spaine sent in a Letter from Sir *Robert Cecill* unto the Lord Deputie, and the same transcribed (by master Secretaries direction) unto the President: the Letter bare date the seuenth of August, and arrived at Corke the second of September following, whereby the Reader may see, that the king of Spaines eyes were yet still (notwithstanding the rowt at Kinsale, the dishonour hee received in the returnes of his troopes, and the losse of Dunboy, whereby his footing in Ireland was nerely lost) open upon that kingdome.

Although Queene *Elizabeth* of happie memory was dead before Lieutenant *Edney* returned, yet I hold it not impertinent in this place to recount his successes: When hee was landed at the Groyne, hee undertood that *Don Iohn de Aguila*, by the accusation of the Irish Fugitiues, was in disgrace confined to his house, where (of grief) shortly after hee dyed. His Letters and Passports were taken from him by the Earle of *Carazena*, and sent to the Court, and himselfe stayed until the Kings pleasure was knowen. The Irish Traytors inveighed much against him, saying, That under pretext of Trade, and bringin g of Presents, hee came as a Spie; Nevertheless he was well intreated, and had the libertie of the Towne, and to weare his Sword, with allowance from the King of a Duccat *per diem* for his dyet:



His goods were solde for the best advantage, and his Barque returned into *Ireland*; But the Presidents present to *Don Iohn*, the Earle of *Carrazena* detayned to his owne use: And after nine moneths restraint *Edney* was enlarged, and returned into *England* in *Iuly* 1603.

A little before this time Sir *Robert Cecill*, her Majesties principall Secretary, wrote unto the Lord Deputie the Newes of *Spaine*, a branch of which hee also sent to the President, dated upon the seventh of *August*, and received the second of September, I hold meet to insert, whereby the Reader may understand that the King of *Spaine* had still his eyes open upon *Ireland*,

One great cause of my writing this private Letter, is this, that where I see how much it doth distract your mind to thinke of *Spaine* behinde you, and of the North before you, fearing to bee diverted from the conclusion of your labours, you may perceiue in what estate the preparations of *Spaine* are now, as I am certainly advertised by one of mine owne, who is newly from the Port of *Lisbone*, where he tooke shipping the 21 of *Iuly*.

There are two great Ships, each of them of a thousand Tunnes, one called the *Andrew*, and the other (which shall be the Viceadmirall) the name forgotten: Besides, there are twelue ships of two



hundred tunnes and downeward, in which it is resolved to send some fifteene hundred men to, to haue releevd the siege at Bearhaven; the Newes of the taking whereof was first knowen by a ship from Waterford to Lisbon, and not before: Of the fifteene hundred men, eight hundred came from the Groyne, being part of those which were transported out of *Ireland*. In the Groyne remaineth *Odonnell*, and there is onely the great Saint *Philip*, with ten small Barques, with which he mightily importuned to be sent to the North. If these had been sent unto Beerehaven in Mounster, hoping upon his arrivall with some fifteene hundred men, to haue raised the siege, possessed some parts, and made a beginning of a plantation, hereof great benefit must needs haue growen to the Rebels: for as those small numbers which should haue been landed at Mounster, with the bruite of the rest to follow, (which is alwayes multiplied) would haue made a distraction of the Vlster prosecution, &c. Lastly, in the said Letter he prayed the President to set downe his opinion, what course were best to be taken in a Defensiue warre, if the King of *Spaine* did invade *Ireland* with a Royall Armie. The next passage, to giue Master Secretarie satisfaction, the Lord President wrote unto him a long Letter; but because many private things were handled in the same, I will onely relate so much of it, as concernes his opinion, touching a defensiue warre in *Ireland*.



*The Lord Presidents Opinion sent to Master Secretary, of a Defensiuè Warre in Ireland.*

Granting that the Enemie will come no lesse powerfull than is reported, and that the Irish will joyne with them (whereof there is no doubt) then consideration is to bee had, what in such a Sea of troubles, is meetest to bee done, that may best preserue the Queenes army with least charge, and the way to weary the enemy and the countrey. Because my opinion may perchance differ from other men, whose Authority, Greatnesse, and better iudgement (in the worlds opinion) beares more sway, I will forbear to deale in so waightie a businesse any farther then to yourselfe, vsing the libertie you haue euer giuen me, to say what I conceiue to be the best Counsaile, if the army of *Spaine* be so great as is both reported by those that come from thence, and expected heere, let us make no doubt but he will bee Master of the field (for the present) and will so hold himselfe, except the Armie of *Ireland* bee reenforced to a farre higher List, the charge whereof will make (if I bee not deceived) both *England* and *Ireland* to groane: Wherefore the best way (in my conceit) to moderate such huge Expences, is for the present to be carelesse of the Countreys generally throughout the kingdome; for in seeking both to defend them, and to make head against the Enemy, will bee too heauie a burden. The principall regard which we ought to haue, is of the Cities, in every of which I doe wish a strong



Garrison both of Horse and foot, able to defend a siege: when the Enemy shall see that wee are dispersed into Garrisons, either hee will presently (in his best strength) goe to besiege one of those places, or else disperse, (because hee hath the Countrey to friend) as wee doe, if he attempt the besieging of any of our places aforesaid, there is no doubt, but in such a businesse he will unite all his forces in one, then may wee be bold to draw all our forces from their severall Garrisons, to a head to releue that place; and with Gods favour make no doubt but to enforce the Enemy to rise; if hee disperse, then those Garrisons will be able to master the Countries about them, and leaue no habitation to releue either Spanyard or Irish; and upon occasion two or more of these Garrisons may assemble and meet, to effect greater services, then otherwise can bee done: This fashion of a warre will in a short time destroy all the Countrey, make the Irish to curse the Spaniard and themselues, for drawing them hither, driue the King to an inestimable charge, and hazard by Sea, to victuall and releue his Army, which otherwise will perish, ease the Queenes charge, and secure the chief Townes, which is chiefly (and aboue all other things) to be respected. Supposing the Army would land in Mounster, in it I would haue principall regard of Corke, Limerick, and Waterford, in either of which Cities I doe wish there might be a strong Garrison of three thousand foote and three hundred horses, one thousand foote more to be dispersed for some poorer



places meet to be kept, so as the Queenes forces should consist of ten thousand foote and one thousand horse; the rest of the kingdome (where the Spaniards are not) may bee held in awe with some Garrisons upon them as now they are: This manner of warre (in my conceit) would little or nothing increase the charge the Queene is now at, and in a short time weary both the Spaniard and the Irish.

To make it appeare more probable unto you, that these Garrisons will be able to ruine all the Countrey at their pleasures, although the Enemy bee never so strong: it cannot bee denyed but sixe thousand foote and sixe hundred horse may bee drawen from the Garrisons; and yet those left against the Irish, and Townesmen sufficiently guarded; with such a light Army, the Commander may goe where hee list, and lodge as neere the Spaniard (without harme) as hee thinkes good: for wee haue the same advantage upon them, as the Irish in lightnesse haue of us, and with such an Army (of the Irish) there is no doubt to bee made, then it followes that wee shall be able to goe into every part of the Province, and retreat at our pleasures: To the contrary, if the Spaniard be strong, and wee in his strength doe fight with him, the event of the battels (being dangerous and uncertaine as they are) the losse of one field or one dayes disaster, would absolutely loose the kingdome, if hee come with like numbers as he did the last yeare, (which I cannot beleue, because the example hath taught him more wit) yet I doe not wish that wee should (doe as



wee did) presently besiege them; for Kinsale was bought at so deare a rate (as while I liue) I will protest against a winter siege, if it may be avoided: I doe speake within my compasse, I doe verily beleeeue, that at that siege, and after (the sickness were gotten) we lost aboue sixe thousand men that dyed: Thus may your honour see what a fashioned warre, I doe conceiue to bee least in charge and most of use; but for a farther helpe, it will be needful for some of the Queenes ships to bee evermore upon the coast, to keepe the Spaniard from reliefe of victuals; and then there is an apparant hope, that a Spanish Army cannot any long time subsist in Ireland, for betweene us and them, and the swarmes of Irishre that will draw into Mounster, the Province will be so harrassed, as neither the Spaniards nor Rebels can avoid starving. I protest unto your Honour, I doe not project this manner of a warre for any particular respect unto my selfe, hoping thereby to haue the managing of it, being unmeet for the Lieutenant of the Kingdome, to bee where there is not a royall Armie in the field to confront an Enemie; and therefore lest I may bee mistaken, if the motion bee liked of, let it not bee mine: But the Reason that leads mee to that opinion, is, because I am sure it is the easiest warre for charge, the surest from hazard, and in the end must prevaile.

*Dat' 11 August, 1602.*

G C



## CHAP. XIV.

*Cormock Mac Dermond makes escape. The Castle of Mocrumpe taken, and most of the Ward put to the Sword, Osulevan and Tirrell repayre with their forces into Muskrey. Cormock Mac Dermond makes meanes to bee received to her Majesties mercy. The Reasons that mooved the Lord President to accept of Cormocks submission.*

**C**ormock Mac Dermond being all this time in the Gentleman Porters custodie, and his intended escape (as hath been said) made knowen to the Lo. President, the same also came after to the eares of the Lo. Bishop of Corke, who according to his duty both of a subject and a Councillor, acquainted the Lord President with it, who made answer, that himselfe heretofore having Intelligence thereof, and had seriously admonished the Gentleman Porter to take an extraordinary care of his Prisoner: Yet because that could not be too often repeated, that can never be too sufficiently learned, he intreated the Bishop, that he also for *Abundans cautela non nocet*, would call for *Hammon*, and giue him warning to bee vigilant and circumspect in his charge, knowing how much it concerned both himselfe and the State. The Bishop having performed grauely and pathetically the Presidents desire, left the execution thereof to his future care. Lastly *Dominicke Sarsfield* (the Queenes Attorney for that Province) came to the President upon the same errand, agreeing in all Circumstances with the former intelligence: whereupon the sayd Officer was



again called, the practise revealed unto him, and for a perclose, commaunded to keepe him close prisoner in an Hand-locke, either with his owne Servant, or some Souldier of especiall trust: Notwithstanding all these repetitions, and reiterations of warnings, within two dayes this last caution given, namely upon Michaelmas day betweene seven and eight of the clock at night, *Cormock* having no other attendant, but his trusty Servant *Maghon Oge Olyne*, who had broken up a window that looked into the streete, stripping himselfe forth of his clothes, creepeth in his shirt out of the window, where were divers gentlemen wayting of purpose to receiue him; an English woman comming alongst the street (in the very instant) while he was creeping forth, perceived his white shirt, and thereupon raysed the cry, and they within the house (hearing the cry) looked for the Prisoner, and finding the window open, and Chamber empty, follow the pursuit, but all in vaine, for he having the darke night, the Towne and Countrey to friend, was convaied over the Citie wals and so escaped. The President although infinitely grieved with this unfortunate accident, yet thought it more necessary to prevent future dangers, then to lament passed disasters, and therefore wrote presently, first to Sir *Charles Wilmot* (being still before Mocrumpe,) that if he could not gaine the Castle that night, hee should raise his siege, and retreat with his forces the next morning, for nothing was more certaine, that now (*Cormock* being escaped) all his Followers and De-



pendants who did infinitely loue him would presently turne Rebels, which if they should, and joyne with *Tirrell*, and *Donnell Osulevan* (as most likely) they would intercept the places and passages twixt him and Corke, that he should not be able to retire without great danger and losse: These being sent away by a Horseman, other Letters were instantly written to the Lord *Barry*, and the Lord *Roch*, that they should make stay of all *Cormocks* Followers and goods, that were as yet residing in their Countries, not suffering either the one or the other to start aside, till from himselve they should receiue farther directions.

Sir *Charles* was exceeding much distracted with these Newes, being exceeding sorry to raise his siege before the worke were finished, yet purposed to obey his directions; behold a meere casualty gaue him opportunitie to effect his desires: for the Warders having killed a Swine for their provision, and having no plentie of water to scald the same, were constrained to singe her (as the manner of some Countreyes is) with straw, fearne, and such like, as they had within the walls. This fire not carefully regarded, tooke hold upon a Cabin within the Bawne adjoyning to the Castle wall, and the thatch thereof (fired and flaming aloft) happened (through a window) to catch hold of certaine tallow, and such combustible matter within the Castle, raging so violently withall, that the Rebels were constrained to quit it, and to make the Bawne their last refuge, wherein they had little hope of



safety: for they saw the two Captaine *Harvies*, brethren, and Captaine *Thomas Boys*, ready to assault it, wherefore (mistrusting that weake defence, which could not bee maintayned) they resolved to sally, and to adventure the recovery of the woods adjoyning; in which attempt, about fiftie of them were put to the sword, the rest were but few, who by favour of the darke night escaped; at length the violence of the fire being somewhat appeased, all industry was vused to make the Castle tenable, and a Company being left within, well victualled and furnished with all necessities, the Army the next day returned towards Corke: the rumor of *Cormocks* escape being come to the eares of *Osulevan Beare*, and Captaine *Terrill*, they incontinently drew their forces forth of Kerry and Desmond into the borders of Muskerry, to conferre and joyne with *Cormock*, making no question but their decayed party should receiue great strength and encouragement by the Lord of Muskerry, his strong Countrey, and multitude of dependants. The President both to terrifie *Cormock*, and to secure the goods of the Subjects in the Lord *Roches* Countrey, sent for Sir *Samuell Bagnall* with his Regiment from Lymrick, to lye upon the confines of Muskerry, not making any other account, but to beginne a new warre, chargeable to her Majestie, painefull to himselfe, and nothing profitable to the Captaines or Souldiers, the Countrey being already much impoverished with the former siege, the Corne destroyed, and the Cattle fled into places of greatest strength, when as it pleased God



contrary to all expectation, to giue this turbulent beginning a short and peaceable end, considering that the hopes of Spaine began to bee desperate and calm: For this Irish escaped Lord having conferred with *Terrill* and his associates, and discerning that they being very needful and halfe hungerstarved, (having been shut up so long within the Mountaines of Beare & Desmond) required bonnaght upon his Countrey, which was grievously wasted already by the English, found the unavoydable ruine and destruction of himselfe and his followers, if hee entertayned that course; and secondly, finding the English possessed of all his strong holds, both on the sides, and in the very heart of his Countrey; and lastly, his eldest sonne then by the procurement of the President prisoner in *England*, and his younger son, with his wife, daughter, and some of his most respected followers close prisoners in *Corke*, thought it his wisest course to adhere unto the State, if his humble submission might bee accepted. Vpon this resolution the twelfth of *October*, he wrote severall Letters to the Bishop of *Corke*, to the Chiefe Iustice, and to Captaine *Taffe*, earnestly solliciting every of these that they would become Mediators and Intercessors in his behalfe to the Lord President, that licence might bee graunted unto him to make his repaire unto his Lordship, protesting that hee would doe any thing within his power to redeeme his former offences. The whole body of the Councell adjudging his suite reasonable, the President would not dissent from their unanime opinion, and therefore



his request was granted. The one and twentieth of October he came to the President, falling downe vpon his knees, he humbly (and indeed more passionately then I haue seene any) besought her Majesties mercie, no way standing upon his Iustification, but promising that his future Services should deserue her gracious favours; onely thus farre in modest tearmes hee alledged for his Excuse, (although he knew his Offences great, and himselfe thereby subject to Law) yet that in his heart he still retained the dutie of a Subject, and therein would remaine so long as life and breath should remaine within his body. The President and Councell beholding the man, and weighing his words, which proceeded from him not without evident testimony of inward grieve, and unfained sorrow, (although peradventure arising like *Esau's* teares from the sense of his losse, more then from Conscience, and feeling of his folly) thought good (upon advised deliberation) to receiue him into her Majesties grace and favour: And as you haue already heard the Motiues inducing him to demaund it: so shall ye briefly understand the reasons, by the weight and validitie whereof the State was perswaded to graunt it. First, considering the insupportable losse which hee had sustained since his imprisonment, in the taking of two, and burning his third Castle, wherein (as being the place of his most especiall abode) his best moouables (whereof hee was very well furnished) were consumed and burnt; and that the harvest of his Countrey, betweene her Majesties forces, and the



Rebells, (for in the same they had made their abode for a whole moneth) was valued as might be esteemed at five thousand pounds, which as a just punishment was fallen upon him.

Secondly it was well weighed, what a helpe and courage his combination would haue afforded to the Rebels, if hee had obstinately run a rebellious course, for hee was at that time the strongest man of Followers of any one of the Irish in that Province, and his Countrey in strength and fastnesse equall with the worst part of the same, and that which required no lesse respect was the situation of his Countrey, reaching even to the wals of Corke, whereby the greatest part of her Majesties forces, must of necessity haue beene employed in Muskerry, which would haue given great impediment to the prosecution of the service in other parts, whereas by receiving him the warre would bee removed farther off and the greatest tempest of disturbance avoyded: that hee was deeply infected, and fowly stained with manifold treasons was too manifest, yet this difference was made betweene him and others, that they were in publicke action professed Traytors, and he a Iugling Traytor; and though hee had joined with a forraine Enemy, yet not in so hainous a manner as some other: for they solicited strangers to invade the kingdome, but strangers having invaded the kingdome, solicited him to partake with them; the three Castles (before mentioned) no doubt were great



bridles upon him, and in time (no doubt) would haue wrought the effects desired, which was to banish him out of his Countrey: But considering the charge and incumbrance subject to some losse, that would grow in victualling of them, and many lewde and unsettled persons ready to joyne with him (if they had perceived him inclinable to continue a Rebell) which might haue bred newe broyles, and protracted the warres of Mounster *in infinitum*: Againe the benefit, that by his prosecution and extirpation might haue redounded to her Majesty, was that thereby his Land should haue excheated unto her, which in the opinion of all wise men would haue proved too deare a purchase: Farther, besides his submission and his Sonne that was a prisoner in England, his second Son also and his Castle of Blarney were held as pledges upon him: And whereas the L. Deputie had devised the forme of an oath for the Northern Protectees, he was content to sweare and subscribe to the same oath, and lastly himselfe with foure of the best Barons of Parliament in Mounster, were bound in three thousand pounds for his future loyaltie and subjection, so that hee was bound in heaven and in Earth, before God and before man, by Law and by Nature, and nothing but onely hell was remayning for his farther assurance.



## CHAPTER XV.

*The Lord President offers the Lord Deputy to send him of his List one or two Regiments. Odonnels death. Tirrels quarter assayled by Sir Samuel Bagnall. The losse on the Rebels part. Tirrell rageth in fury against the inhabitants of Muskry, and retireth into Beare and Desmond. The death of Captaine Harvie. Captaine Flower succeeded Captaine Harvie in the government of Carbury. Cloghane summoned. The Constables brother hanged, and the Castle rendered.*

**C**ormocke being now reduced, the Lord President wrote to the Lord Deputie, signifying him thereof; and withall, that if his Lordship had any use in Connaght for the forces of Mounster, that he might dispose of one or more of the regiment of the same as hee pleased: And also he certified him, that one called *James Blake*, of Galway, lately arrived from *Spaine*, did constantly affirme, that *Odonnell* was dead, both which you may beleeeue was welcome unto the Lord Deputie.

The morning immediately following the day of his submission, which was the two and twentieth of *October*, Sir *Samuel Bagnall* placed (as you haue heard) with a Regiment of Foot, and one hundred Horse on the borders of Muskrey, had occasion of service by this meanes: *Tirrell* with eight hundred Foot, and fortie Horse, was still remaining in the westernmost confines of Muskrey, environed with such fastnesse of woods and boggs, as he thought himselfe secure: The cause of his stay was, for that hee



expected the returne of *Cormock*, by whom hee made account to be waged, for *Cormock* indeed had not acquainted him with his intent of submission: Sir *Samuel Bagnall* therefore conjecturing, that so soone as hee should heare of this Lord of Muskery to become a Subject, hee would then retire himselfe to his old haunt in the Mountaines of Beare and Desmond, thought the time either now or never to doe service upon this lightfooted Enemy, and therefore hee called upon *Owen Mac Teg* of the *Drishan*, one of the *Mac Carties* of Muskery (whom the President had appointed to attend his directions) and requested him (in the edge of the evening) to make tryall if hee could goe unperceived to *Tirrells Campe*, and bring him word in what place, and in what manner the Rebels were lodged: This *Owen Mac Teg* very willingly and faithfully performed his employment, and about midnight returned, and reported, that hee had found the Rebels secure (as hee imagined) from all feare or suspition, and would undertake to conduct, and guid the forces directly to their Campe: upon this intelligence it was not long before Sir *Samuell* and his Companies were all in Armes, disposing them into two bodies, Captaine *Sidley* (who had the poynt) had five and twenty out of every Company, with officers proportionable for his numbers, and Sir *Samuell* himselfe, with the rest marched close up after them, and the Horse came in the reare, for the night was darke, the wayes deepe and woody, in this manner they held on



till they came so neere to the Rebels quarters, as that they might discern their fires, then they made halte, and sent *Owen Mac Teg*, with his cosen *Owen Olough* one of the *Mac Swynes*, to discover whether they could perceiue any stirring amongst them, and to descry more particularly the manner of their encamping; they gathering courage by the countenance of the Army, which approached so neere, as they precisely viewed every part thereof, and returning to the Colonell, certified him that they were lodged in three quarters, a little distant the one from the other, at their backe a strong wood, before their face a maine bog halfe a mile broad, and on either side cragged and rocky Mountaines: The Colonell therefore directed Captaine *Sidly* with the Vanguard to divide his troopes, and to giue on upon all the three quarters at one instant, and commanded the Sergeant Major, Captaine *William Power*, and Captaine *Bostocke* with the battle to be his seconds; to make good their undertakings, himselfe marched in the reare, a very small distance from them; and because there was no ground for the Horse to serue in neere the Campe, therefore they were commanded to attend Captaine *Minshaw* (Lieutenant of the Presidents Horse troope) upon the farther side of the bog to intercept them in their flight: These forces marshalled into this order, the foote were come up within lesse than a furlong of the Rebels quarter, and no doubt had surprised them unperceiued, if a Peece by mischance had not fired by the stumbling of one of



the new supplies, which giving the alarme, some of them drew speedily into Armes, yet our men killed eightie of them dead in the place; *Tirrell* ran away in his shirt, leaving both his garments and weapons behind him, and his wife followed no better clothed: our men got fiftie horses and hacknies, one thousand Cowes, sheepe and garrans, great store of Armes and baggage, and that which seldome hath beene seene in Irish spoyles, some remnants of Velvet, Holland, Gold, and silver Lace, English apparell of Satten and Velvet, and some quantitie of Spanish coyn, amongst the rest there was a Portmanteau found by the Souldiers, wherein *Tirrells* Spanish money was confessed to haue bin, but they that got it had more wit then to proclaime it in the market place: But whosoever sweetened their mouthes with these Spanish drugs, sure I am that the Souldiers came all with good courage, well pleased to Corke, except only seventene which were hurt in the skirmish, all our Captaines and Commanders deserved well, and particularly Captaine *Minshaw*, who had his horse slaine under him, and himselfe wounded with a Pike: *Tirrell* finding himselfe to haue sustayned this irrecoverable losse of men, money, clothes and armes, and hearing withall that *Cormock* was with the President at Corke, imagining that this plot had beene contrived by him (in revenge of this defeate) wreaked his anger upon divers Churles and poore people in those Fastnesse: First burning their corne and cabbines, and afterwards put them to the sword,



wherein he little offended the State; these being onely such as had fled from the Garrisons into those Fastnesse, because they would not be subject to Law, and this was towards the latter end of October: *Tirrell* having found by this woefull experience, that the Fastnesse of Muskery could not secure him from the pursuit of the English, retired himselfe into his old lurking dens, in Beare and Desmond, not fearing but that hee might quietly spend the remainder of this winter in those desolate parts, and the rather because he committed no outrage upon the Subjects adjoyning.

The President perceiving their resolution, being now freed from the cloud (he formerly conceived) of forraine Invasion, and knowing them to be much discouraged, and out of heart, by reason of their late overthrow, which now was past hope to bee recovered, either by *Spaine* or *Cormocke*, thought it a fit time (in these respects) to make a speedy prosecution, foreseeing, that the former good fortune effectually pursued, might strike a good stroke to breake the heart of the Rebellion in Mounster; towards the effecting whereof he incontinently resolved to inviron them with Garrisons; but the difficulties that did incounter him in this businesse, were many and great: the long wayes, being neere fourescore miles English from Corke to Beare, the Plaines so deepe and boggie, the Mountaines so rough and craggie, and the carriage Garrans, that are never



strong, were not able to travell sixe miles a day; and besides Easterly winds are so seldome upon this coast as it would aske a long time to transport their Victualls and Munitions by Sea. Notwithstanding, wading through all those inconveniences with industrious travell, and laborious diligence, hee had planted Sir *Charles Wilmott* with one Regiment at Donkerran, Sir *Richard Percie* at Kinsale, Captain *George Flower*, the Seargeant Major at Bantry, and Captaine *Roger Harvie* at Baltimore. But the present service received no small prejudice by meanes of the untimely departure of Captaine *Roger Harvie*, whose heart being overwhelmed with an inundation of sorrowes, and discontentments taken, (though in my Conscience not willingly given) by one that had beene his honourable Friend, as his heart blowen like a bladder, (as the Surgeons reported) was no longer able to minister heate to the vitall parts, and therefore yeelded to that irresistable fate, which at last overtaketh all mortall creatures: The untimely death of this young Gentleman was no small occasion of griefe to the Lord President, not onely that Nature had conjoyned them in the neerest degrees of Consanguinitie, but because his timely beginnings gaue apparent demonstration, that his continuall proceedings would haue given comfort to his Friends, profit to his Countrey, and a deserved Advancement of his owne Fortunes. Great were the services which these Garrisons performed: for Sir *Richard Percie* and Captaine *George Flower* with their Troupes, left neither Corne nor horne, nor house unburnt, be-



tweene Kinsale and Rosse; Captaine *Roger Harvie*, who had with him his brother Captaine *Gawen Harvie*, Captaine *Francis Slingsbie*, Captaine *William Stafford* with their Companies, and also the Companies of the Lord *Barry*, and the Treasurer, with the Presidents Horse, did the like betweene Rosse and Bantry.

Not many dayes after the death of Captaine *Roger Harvie*, Captaine *George Flower* having the charge of Baltimore, and the commanding of the Garrisons thereabouts, which formerly was under *Harvies* direction, understanding that the Castle of Cloghan was guarded by the Rebels, and that in the same there was a Romish Priest lately come from Rome, taking with him Captaine *Francis Slingsbie*, and Captaine *William Stafford* with their Companies of Foot, (besides his owne) he marched unto it, in hope to gaine it, the rather, because he had in his hands one called *Donnell Dorrogh*, a traytor, brother to the Constable that had the charge thereof: Vpon his summons they refused to yeeld; then hee told the Ward, that if the Constable did not presently render the Castle unto him, that hee would hang his brother in their sight: they said the Constable was gone abroad (but therein they said untruely as afterward it was proved) in conclusion to saue the Priest (whose life they tendered) they persevered obstinately not to yeeld; whereupon Captaine *Flower* in their sight hanged the Constables brother: Neverthelesse within fower dayes afterward the Priest being shifted



away in safetie, the Constable sued for a Protection and rendered the Castle to Captaine *Flower*. I doe relate this accident to the end the Reader may the more cleerely see, in what reverence and estimation these ignorant superstitious Irish doe hold a Popish Priest, in regard of whose safetie the Constable was content to suffer his brother to perish.

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## CHAP. XVI.

*A Branch of a Letter from the Lords of the Councell to the Lord President. The Ensignes of Magistracy redelivered to the Corporation of Kinsale. Of Spaniards defeated at Kinsale, in the time of King Richard the second. The Rising out of the Country committed to the charge of the Lord Barry. The Lord Deputy requires the Lord President to meet him at Galway. Sir George Thornton appoynted to joyne with the Lo. Barry. A Messenger from the Rebell Tirell to the Lord President, and his Answer. The Knight of Kerry defeated. The Knight of Kerry, Thomas Oge and Osulevan Mores Sonne make their submission. A foule murther committed by Osulevan Mores Sonne.*

**T**HE Lords of the Councell, by the Letters dated the sixteenth of December, signified their pleasures unto the President; that in regard *Florence Mac Cartie* was a prisoner in the Tower, his children (to avoyd her Majesties charges) should bee set at libertie, and also the children pledges of others (except the President saw cause to the contrary) to bee enlarged: That her Majestie was pleased that the



President should deliver unto the Corporation of Kinsale, their Charter and other Ensignes of Magistracie, and to impose upon them in stead of a fine, the reedifying of their wals at their owne charges, and certaine workmen, towards the finishing of the Fort of Castle ny Parke: That her Majestie was pleased at the Presidents Request, that a faire and strong house should be built for the President, where hee thought it convenient, to bee defrayed upon the fines and casualties of the Province: That the fort of Haleboling should be presently finished: Lastly, thanks in her Majesties name for his services, liking well of his proceedings with *Cormock Mac Dermond*, and for the courses he had taken in his returne from Donboy, and of the well disposing of the Garrisons, and his raysing and making of fortifications, &c.

By this Letter it appears that the President was directed to redeliver unto the Burgesses of Kinsale their Charter, and other their Ensignes of Magistracie, among the which there was a faire large Standard of Damaske with the Armes of England in it: This Standard aforesaid was first delivered unto them (by the commandement of King *Henry* the eight) by Sir *George Carew*, the Lord Presidents cosen german, when hee arrived at Kinsale, who not long before the siege of Bollogne) was Admirall of some of the Kings ships: Into the hands of Sir *George* it was left in safe keeping, when the Spaniards arrived there, and by the same time Sir *George Carew*, by Queene *Elizabeths*



commandement, it was (as is said) redelivered unto them againe: although this petty note may seeme to some scarce worth the relating, yet for the rarenesse of the accident, I thought it meet to bee remembred: And that the Reader may also understand what a fatall place Kinsale had beene unto the Spaniards in former times (as well as now) I thinke it not impertinent to relate what hapned unto them in that port, *Anno* 1380. and the fourth yeare of the Raigne of King *Richard* the second: My Author is *Thomas of Walsingham*, who lived in those dayes, and thus Englished in *Hollinshed*.

**I**N this meane while that the Earle of Buckingham was passing through the Realme of France, the French and Spanish gallies did much mischief on the Coast of England, but about the latter end of June, by a fleete of Englishmen of the West Countries, part of them were forced to retire, and take harbour in an haven in Ireland called Kinsale, where being assailed by the Englishmen and Irishmen they were vanquished: so that to the number of foure hundred were slaine, and their chiefe Captaines taken, as Gonzales de vorse, and his brother Martin de Motrigo, Turgo Lord of Morrans: Also the Lord of Reath, Peers Martin of Vermew, Iohn Moditt of Vermew, the Seneschal of Wargarie, the Seneschall of Saint Andrewes, Cornellis of Saint Sebastiano, Paschale de Biskaya, Iohn Martinez, Sopogorge of Saint Sebastiano, and divers others: There were



*taken foure of their Barges, with a Ballenger, and one and twenty English vessels recovered, which they had robbed and taken away from their Owners: There escaped yet foure (of their notable Captaines) from the hands of our men, Martin Grantz, Iohn Perez Mantago, Iohn Husce Gitario, and one Garcia of Sebastiano: Thus farre Hollingshed, craving the Readers patience, for to some, this old story may seeme to bee a needlesse curiositie, but to proceed.*

The President to make the speedier prosecution, and expedition in the affaires of the Province, caused the Rising out of the Countrey to bee assembled to the number of sixteene hundred (at their owne charges) under the conduct of the Lord *Barry*: These Provinciaall Forces were not prepared for any great need that was of their service, it was thought meet to draw as many hands together as conveniently might bee, who according to their manner, for spoyles sake, would not spare their dearest friends. And also it was thought no ill policie to make the Irish draw bloud one upon another, whereby their private quarrels might advance the publike service. The President had first determined himselfe in person with five hundred English, (joynd to the Provincials) to haue taken the field; but his intentions were casually diverted by Letters from the Lord Deputie, who signifying that his Lordship purposed to bee at Galway about the two and twentieth of *December*, required him (all other businesse set apart) immediately to



repayre thither, to consult about certaine affaires much importing the service of the State, by reason whereof the President appointed Sir *George Thornton* with 500. English Souldiers, Inhabitants as Vnder-takers in Mounster, to accompany the Lord *Barry* with the Provincialls, and all these to meet together, about the twentyeth of this present, at *Donkerran*, which was the place of their rendezvous.

In this meane time the Rebelle *Tirrell*, not liking to stay any longer in the Aire of Mounster, wherein hee had runne many dangers, bethought himselfe of a retreat out of the Province, hoping that the President would condescend to any composition, rather then to bee troubled with his company, whereupon he sent his inward servant *Laghlin Odallye* (afore mentioned in this discourse) unto *Corke*, who comming to the President, told him, that his Captaine (meaning *Tirrell*) would bee content to leaue the Province, and would heereafter this, (so as hee might haue a Pardon, a Pension, and a Company of Foot in her Majesties pay) serue the Queene, and deserue the reward demanded by his future services. The President knowing that for want of food hee would be forced ere the spring of the yeare to depart; And also assuring himselfe (within that time) to get some good draught to bee drawn upon him by some of the Provinciall Rebells, who now being heart-broken, would doe any thing for their Pardons, or for a little money, not onely sleightly rejected his offers, but bid *Odalley*



tell him, That although hee were never so warie, yet hee doubted not before it were long, to haue his head sent unto him in a bag, willing him to forbear to send any more unto him.

While these forces aforesaid were gathering according to the directions afore-recited, the Governor of Kerry losing no opportunity, and forbearing no labour, had the like fortune upon the Knight of Kerry, as Sir *Samuel Bagnall* had upon *Tirrell*; for being conducted to his Quarter in the night, killed fortie of his men, and tooke from him all his whole substance, which consisted of fiae hundred cowes, two hundred garrans, and two moneths provision of Meale and Butter for his Souldiers; which small spoyle was a great losse to the poore Knight: for thereby hee being disfurnished of all his provision, & disabled to minister entertainment to his followers, and having no Castle whereunto he might safely retreat, was constrained (like a Wolfe) to shelter himselfe in waste woods and desolate mountaines, untill he could worke meanes with Sir *Charles* to accept his humble submission, which incontinently (upon his defeat) hee earnestly solicited, by the meanes of *Osulevan More*. And surely this Service was of good consequence for the setling of Kerry: for *Thomas Oge*, induced by the example of the Knight, and likewise *Donnell Osulevan*, Son to the said *Osulevan More*, did all joyntly submit themselues, and her Majesties Protection graunted them: The former performed as much



as was promised; but the latter, in the interim that hee should haue put in Sureties for his loyaltie, (according to a Clause inserted in his Protection) did in the malice of his heart to our Nation, commit a most base and traiterous murder upon a Sergeant and ten Souldiers going after Sir *Charles* towards Donkerran, who not suspecting any false measure at his hands, being lately protected, were most cruelly butchered by that inhumane perjured Rebell: His father, olde *Osulevan* conceived so great discontentement against him for his damnable fact, as hee threatned to withdraw from him his favour, his Blessing and Birth-right: But of this sufficient.

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## CHAP. XVII.

*Sir Charles Wilmot chiefe Commander of the forces in the absence of the Lord President. The Rebels make three divisions of their forces. Tirrell afraid flies the Province. The Lord Barry and Sir George Thornton joyne their forces with Sir Charles Wilmot. A skirmish entertayned. A prey taken from the Rebels out of the Fastnesse. Divers Rebels submitted themselues. William Burke, Iohn O Connor Kerry, and Osulevan Beare with the Bownoghs fled out of the Province. The Rebels losse in their passage through the county of Corke. And the hard shift they made over the Shenan. The good service done upon the Rebels by the Sherife of the county of Typperary. Captaine Henry Malby slaine. Beare, Bantry, and Dorsies spoyled, and the Castles of Ardea and Carrignesse rendred. Captaine Taffe employed against the Rebels in Carbry. The Popes Vicar slaine, and the Rebels defeated. The Carties of Carbry submit themselues to the Lord President.*

**T**HE Lord *Barry*, and Sir *George Thornton* were now upon this their third march towards their rendezvous at



Donkerran, there to attend the directions of Sir *Charles Wilmot*, who in the Presidents absence (for by this time hee was upon his way to Galway) did command all that Army in chiefe, composed of the Garrison of Kerry, and of the Garrisons of Bantry, Kinsale, Baltimore, &c. aforementioned, who with great valour and discretion discharged the same. The Rebels understanding by continuall advertisement of the great preparations made, to rouse and hunt them out of their Fastnesse, thought fit in their Councils to divide themselues into three severall parts, to the intent that her Majesties forces then vnited, might likewise bee severed and divided in severall prosecutions, whereby each party might be the lesse indangered: For if the English should neglect any one part of them, they might harrasse and spoyle the Subject, for whose defence a good part of the Army must bee withdrawne: This resolution being taken, *Osulevan Beare* and *William Burke* with seven hundred men were appoynted to remaine in Beare, other foure hundred was appoynted for Carbery, to bee commanded by Sir *Owen Mac Carties* Sonnes, and the third division (which was five hundred strong) and commanded by Captaine *Tirrell*, were to goe with Lord *Fits Maurice* into Kerry: But *Tirrell* being upon his pretended march for Kerry, fearing to runne so hard a fortune, suddenly altered his former determinations; and notwithstanding that hee had lately received a great imprest of Spanish money from *Osulevan Beare*, and farther he promised unto him



1500. hundred more in good rials of plate, and one thousand Cowes to stay with him but three moneths longer, resolved with all possible expedition to leaue the Province, and therefore acquainting the Lord *Fitz Maurice* with his intention, without farther consultation, giving a deafe eare to any contrary persuasions, leaving all his carriages, sicke men, and other impediments behind him, set forward on his hasty Iourney, and never looked backe till hee came into *O Carrels* Countrey, which is from the Mountaine of *Shewlogher* (where hee began his march) no lesse than sixtie Irish miles, and this his departure was the same day that our forces should meet at their rendezvous, whose defection from the rest, made the worke in hand much more easie to bee effected.

Our forces under the Lord *Barry* and Sir *George Thornton* met with Sir *Charles Wilmot*, upon the seven and twentieth of December; the thirtieth wee camped in *Glangarrem*, on a little plot of dry ground, (environed with woods and bogs) of so small capacitie, as most of our Guards and Sentinels were held either on the bog or in the edge of the wood, and yet was there not so much firme ground together, within five miles of that place; within two miles thereof encamped *Donnell Osulevan*, and *William Burke* with his *Bonnaghts*: Before the Campe was settled, the Rebels entertayned a skirmish for an houres space, and hurt three of our men, whereof Captaine *Staffords* Lieutenant, *William Jeffries* was one; the same



night they gaue us an alarme, and powred into our quarter a volley of shot, but being encountered with our Guards adjoyning were repulsed, and driven into the wood.

The one and thirtieth, there was a Convoy sent to Donkerran for Victuals: and the same day Sir *Charles Wilmot* sent foure hundred of the risings out under the command of Captaine *Iohn Barry*, and two hundred of the Armie in List under the command of *Thomas Selby*, Lieutenant to Captaine *Francis Slingsbie*, to beat the Fastnesse where the Rebels with their cattell lodged: their quarter was entred by our men, and their cattell seized, whereupon ensued a bitter fight, maintained without intermission for sixe howers, neverthelesse they kept the prey they had gotten; the Enemy not leaving their pursuit, untill they came in sight of the Campe: for whose reliefe two Regiments were drawen forth, to giue countenance, and *Downings*, Lieutenant to Sir *Francis Barkley*, was sent with one hundred and twenty choise men to the succour of *Barry* and *Selby*, who in the reare were so hotely charged by the Rebels, that they came to the Sword and Pike, and the skirmish continued till night parted them: many were slaine on either side, but the greatest losse fell upon the Traytors: there was taken from them in that dayes service, 2000 Cowes, 4000 Sheepe, and 1000 Garrans.

Immediately vpon this Defeat, many of the Coun-



they that escaped, leaving the Rebels, having before lost all their goods, submitted themselves to the Governour, and obtained mercie; *Hugh Mac Swine* and *Owen Grayne*, with eightie of their followers, and other of the Bownoghs likewise became suiters for her Majesties protection, (which to weaken the adverse partie) was also graunted; whose revolt, or rather returne, so disturbed and distracted *William Burke*, the chiefe Commander of *Osulevans* forces, who did his endeavour, (by assaulting them in their way to Sir *Charles*) to resist their submission, wherein some men were lost; and not prevayling in the same, purposed to follow the steps of *Tirrell* his forerunner; and therefore wished *Osulevan Beare*, either instantly to rise with him, or else to shift for himselfe as well as he could: for a longer stay in those parts could promise him nothing but apparant ruine and destruction. And when the other urged the intertainment that hee had given unto him and his Company before hand: *Burke* answered, that hee had already lost, not that onely which of him was received, but whatsoever else he either brought into the Province, or gained therein, besides the slaughter of many his Followers and neere kinsmen, whom he prized and valued (in his affection) aboue all the King of Spaines treasure; and therefore with extreame passion (as was reported) cursing and damning himselfe for staying so long in Mounster; in all hast with two hundred men (for the rest were all either slaine or protected) hee fled and followed Captaine *Tirrell* into *OCarrols* Countrey:



*Osulevan* finding his estate desperate, that either hee must starve in Mounster, or begge in Vlster, made choise of the lesse evill, and therefore himselfe and *Iohn OConnor Kerry* kept Company with the Bonnogs, content to partake with their fortunes, till hee might get to *Tyrone*.

As they passed by the skirts of Muskery, they were skirmished withall by the sonnes of *Teg Mac Owen Cartie*, where they lost some of their men, and most of their carriage; in passing by *Liscarcell*, *Iohn Barry*, brother to the Vicecount, with eight Horsemen and fourty foote charged their reare at the foord of *Bel-laghan*, where he slew and hurt many of them, and of his part one Horseman was slaine.

When they came to the River of the Shenan, they finding the River high, and no boats nor troughs to passe them over into Connaght, they killed many of their horses, and made shift with their hides to make certaine little boats, called in Irish *Nevogs*, in the which they transported their men and baggage: Neverthelessse before all were past the River, the Sherife of the county of *Typperarie*, fell upon their reare and slew many of them; being in Connaght they passed safely through the county of *Galway*, untill they came into the *Kellies* Countrey, where they were fought withall by *Sir Thomas Burke*, the Earle of *Clanriccards* brother, and Captaine *Henry Malby*, who were more in number then the Rebels: Neverthelessse when they saw that either they must make their way by the



sword or perish, they gaue a braue charge upon our men, in the which Captaine *Malby* was slaine, upon whose fall Sir *Thomas* and his Troopes fainting, with the losse of many men, studied their safeties by flight, and the rebels with little harme marched into *Orwykes* Countrey.

The next morning being the fourth of Ianuary, 1602. Sir *Charles* comming to seeke the Enemy in their Campe, hee entered into their quarter without resistance, where hee found nothing but hurt and sicke men, whose paines and liues by the Souldiers were both determind: The governour sent the Lord *Barry* with some of his light foote after them, but all in vaine, for they flew so swift with the wings of feare, as passing by many preyes directly in the way (as they passed) yet they never made so much stay as to molest either the Cattle or their Keepers.

Heereupon Sir *Charles* with the English Regiments overran all Beare and Bantry, destroying all that they could find meet for the reliefe of men, so as that countrey was wholly wasted: He sent also Captaine *Flemming* with his Pinnace, and certaine Souldiers into *Osulevans* Iland; Hee tooke there certaine Boats, and an English Barke, which *Osulevan* had gotten, and kept for his transportation into *Spaine*, when he should be enforced thereunto; they tooke also from thence certaine Cowes and Sheepe, which were reserved there as in a sure storehouse, and put the



Charles to the sword that inhabited therein. The Warders of the Castles of Ardea, and Carricknesse on the sixth of the same moneth dispayring of their Master *Osulevans* returne, rendered both their Castles and their liues to the Queenes mercy: so that although hee should haue *Animum revertendi*, he had neither place of safetie whereunto hee might retyre, nor Corne or Cattel to feed himselfe, much lesse to uphold or renew any warre against the State.

The sharpnesse of this Winter journey did exceedingly weaken our Companies: for the Mountaines of Beare being at that time quite covered with snow, tasted the strong bodies, whereby many returned sicke, and some unable to endure the extreamity, dyed standing centinell: But whilst this service was in prosecution in Beare, the President on his journey towards the Lord Deputie, chanced to meet with some of the Countrey risings out, to the number of foure hundred foote or thereabouts, that came short of the rest, that were under the commands of the Lord *Barry*, and Sir *George Thornton*: And understanding that the Sonnes of Sir *Owen Mac Cartie*, and *Donnogh Keugh*, brother to *Florence Mac Cartie*, were retyred with their Creates and Followers into the strengths of Carbery, his Lordship commanded Captaine *Taffe* (with the said risings out) fourtie of Sir *Edward Wingsfields* Company, and his owne troope of Horse to draw into those parts, and to endeavour the best service hee could



upon them: Whilest the rest were busied by the Governour of Kerry in Desmond as aforesaid, wherein it pleased God to giue him good successe, for on the fifth of Ianuary, his foote entering their Fastnesse, tooke a prey of two or three hundred Cowes and Garrans; the Rebels in pursuit of their Cattle, gaue them so braue a charge, as they were disordered, whereby some of them were slaine, which Captaine *Taffe* perceiving, being in the head of his Horse troope, in the skirt of the Fastnesse, and espying some of their Horsemen to doe much hurt upon our foote, charge them into the wood, slew foure of their Horsemen, and put all the rest to rout, wherewith our men being encouraged pursued them: *Owen Mac Eggan* (the Popes Apostolike Vicar so often before mentioned) to put fresh heart into his Company, with his sword drawne in one hand, and his portius and beades in the other, with one hundred men led by himselfe, he came boldly up to the sword, and mainetayned a hot skirmish, untill hee was slaine with a shot, whereupon his men (together with a fresh charge of our horse) were so amazed and terrified, partly by his death, and partly by their owne danger, that they brake instantly, and for better expedition throwing away their Armes, leaped into the river Bandon, hoping by that meanes to escape, but that little auailed them, for they all for the most part were either killed or drowned in the river; there were slaine in this service (besides *Owen Mac Eggan*, who was of more worth then all the rest) aboue one hundred and twenty Rebels, and



of the Provinciall rising out of our part, a good number lost their liues, and many of Captaine *Taffes* horses hurt, wee got the Armes of 100. and fourtie, and all their horses, cowes, sheepe and garrans, that were in the Countrey neere adjoyning: There was also taken a Papist Priest, being as it seemed a Chaplaine to *Mac Eggan*, whom the President (shortly after) caused to be executed in Corke.

Vpon this discomfiture, the *Carties* who formerly had beene Petitioners to the President for protection, but denyed, became suitors to Captaine *Taffe* in the like, who not knowing of the good successe, that the Governour had against the other Rebels (according to direction before given him by the President, that hee should accept their submission, after a blow given them, if it were humbly sought) did grant protection to them and their Followers; and upon the Presidents returne from Galway, Captaine *Taffe* having then in his company upon the high way, not farre from Moyallo, presented them to his Lordship, who with great shew of unfayned penitence, desired his allowance, and acceptation of their submission, who to gratifie the service of Captaine *Taffe*, and to ratifie his promise assented thereunto, whereby all Carbery (a very large and spacious Countrey) was wholly reduced to subjection, no one open Traytor remayning therein. A principall meanes of this suddaine and vniuersall reduction, was the death of that traitorly Priest, *Owen Mac Eggan*, which doubtlesse was more beneficiall



to the State, then to haue gotten the head of the most capitall Rebelle in Mounster, for the respect that was borne unto him (by reason of his authority from the Pope) and the credit which hee had obtayned in Spaine, was so great, as his power was in a manner absolute over them all, and he onely was the meanes of their obdurate obstinacie: his dignity in being the Popes *Vicarius Apostolicus*, did hold them in vassallage unto him, and the livings given him in Mounster by the Popes grant, were to be valued (if hee might quietly haue enjoyed them) at three thousand pounds *per Annum*. And farther to ingage the Popish Clergy of Ireland unto him, hee had power to dispose at his pleasure of all the spirituall livings in the Province of Mounster, by which authority, together with the credit he had gotten with the King of Spaine (well testified by the trust committed to him in transporting and disposing the Spanish money, last brought into Ireland) he had obtayned in a manner all power, both over the temporality and spirituality of Mounster, and to depaint him in his true colours, a more malicious Traytor against the State and Crowne of England, never breathed, which well appeared by the barbarious tyranny hee exercised upon his owne Countrymen; for assoone as any prisoners were taken (though of his owne Countrey, birth and religion) yet if they had served the Queene, he caused them first (in piety as he pretended) to bee confessed and absolved, and instantly (in his owne sight) would hee cause them to bee murdered, which religious



tyranny in him was held for sanctity. The President upon his returne to Corke, employed certaine Messengers whom hee might trust, into the Countrey to make search in such places as *Mac Eggan* vsually resided, for such bookes and papers as were belonging unto him: divers bookes of schoole divinity (for the most part) were gotten, all which by the Presidents gift fell to my share, and certaine papers, amongst the which I will onely insert three in this present relation; the first contayning large indulgences, granted by P. *Clement* the eighth, to such of the Irish as should beare Armes against Gods chosen Servant, and their annoynted Soveraigne the Queenes Majesty, the tenor whereof here ensueth.

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### CHAP. XVIII.

*Pope Clement the eighth his Indulgence to the Irish that were in Rebellion. A Letter from Pope Clement the eighth unto Tyrone and the Irish Rebels, animating them to persevere in Rebellion. Pope Clement the eighth his Bull for the granting of spirituall livings unto Owen Mac Egan.*

Pope *Clement* the eighth his Indulgence to the Irish that were in Rebellion.

**C**LEMENS P. 8. *Vniversis, & singulis venerabilibus fratribus, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, & Prelatis, nec non dilectis filiis, Principibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, ac populis Regni Hiberniæ salutem, et Aposto-*



*licam Benedictionem: cum jam diu, sicut accepimus, vos Romanorum Pontificum Prædecessorum nostrorum, ac nostris & Apostolice sedis Cohortationibus adducti, ad vestram libertatem recuperandam, eamq; adversus Hereticos tuendam & conservandam, bonæ memoriæ Iacobo Giraldino (qui duru servitutis jugu vobis ab Anglis sanctæ ecclesiæ desertoribus imposuit, summo animi ardore depellere dum vixit pro viribus procuravit) Deinde Iohanni Giraldino ejusdem Iacobi Consobrino, & novissime dilecto filio nobile, viro Hugoni principi Onel, dicto Comiti Tironensii Baroni Dungenaniæ, et Capitaneo generali Exercitus Catholici in Hiberniâ conjunctis animis et viribus presto fueritis, ac opem et auxilium prestiteritis: ipsiq; Duces & eorum Milites, nostrum Domini exercitum illis assistentes progressu temporis plurima egregia facinora contra hostes viriliter pugnare perstiterint, et in posterum præstare parati sunt; Nos, ut vos, ac Dux, et Milites prædicti alacrius in expeditionem hanc contra dictos Hereticos opem in posterum etiam præstare studeatis, spiritualibus gratijs et favoribus vos prosequi volentes, eorundem Prædecessorum nostrorum exemplo adducti, ac de Omnipotentis Dei misericordiâ ac beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum ejus authoritate confisi, vobis omnibus & singulis qui prædictum Hugonem Tyronensem ducem ejusq; exercitum Catholicæ fidei assertores & propugnatores sequimini, acillis vos adjunxeritis, aut Consilio, Favore, Commeatibus, armis, alijsq; bellicis rebus seu quacung; ratione eis in hac expeditione operam de-*



*deritis, ipsig Hugoni Duci ejusg exercitus Militibus  
 vniversis & singulis, si verè pœnitentes & confessi,  
 ac etiam, si fieri poterit, sacra Communione refert  
 fueritis plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum veniam  
 & remissionem, ac eandem que proficiscentibus ad  
 bellum contra Turcas, & ad recuperationem Terræ  
 sanctæ per Romanos Pontifices concedi solita est,  
 misericorditer in Domini concedimus, non obstantibus,  
 si opus sit, nostris Decretis de non concedendis indul-  
 gentijs ad instare, ac susceptionis Indulgentiarum  
 occasione anni Iubilæi alijsq constitutionibus et ordi-  
 nationibus Apostolicis cæterisq contrarijs quibuscung.  
 Verùm quia difficile foret præsentes nostras ad  
 omnium quorum interest noticiam pervenire volumus,  
 ut earum exemplis etiam impressis manu alicujus  
 Notarij publici subscriptis ac Sigillo personæ in  
 dignitat' Ecclesiastica Constitutæ munitis eadem fides  
 ubiq habeatur quæ ijsdem præsentibus haberetur.  
 Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, sub annulo  
 Piscatoris, die decimo octavo Aprilis, 1600. Pontifi-  
 catus nostri, Anno Nono. Subscrip.*

The second which was found among *Mac Eggans* Papers, was a Letter written from the holy Father Pope *Clemens* the eighth, unto *Hugh Oneale* Earle of Tyrone, to exhort him and all his Adherents, to persevere, (for the defence of the Catholique cause) in their unnaturall Rebellion; from the Originall whereof this following Copie is extracted.



A Letter from Pope *Clement* the eight unto *Tyrone*,  
and the Irish Rebels animating them to  
persevere in Rebellion.

**D***ilecte Fili Nobilis vir. Salutem et Apostolicam benedictione cognovimus ex literis nobilitatis tuæ & ex hijs quæ dilectus filius Petrus Lombardus Civis nostræ præpositus Cameracensis nobis coram exposuit sacrum fœdus, quod tu & quamplures Principes & procures & Nobiles primarij regni istius Dei benignitate iniistis charitatis glutino Colligatum conservari & augeri quodquæ eiusdem Domini exercitum ope & virtute prospere á nobis pluries pugnatum est adversus Anglos Ecclesie & fidei desertores magnam ex his voluptatem in Domini cepimus, ipsig Patri miserecordiar' Deo gratias egimus, qui adhuc in regno istoreliquit sibi multa millia virorum qui non curvaverint genua sua ante Baal. Hi enim impias hæreses, & prophanas no vitates non sunt squuti, imo eas detestati fortiter pugnant, pro hæreditate maiorum suorum, pro fidei salute integritate et unitate cum ecclesia retinenda, quæ una est Catholica et Apostolica extra quam non est salus; laudamus egregiam pietatem et fortitudinem tuamfili & principum, et cæterorum omnium qui tecum juncti ac federati nulla pro Dei gloria paricula recusant, seg majoribus suis qui bellicæ virtutis & Catolicæ Religionis studio, ac laude imprimis floruerunt dignos nepotes et justos Successores ostendunt et palam*



*profitentur: conservate filij hanc mentee, conseruate vnionem, et consensionem vestram, & Deus Omnipotens, Deus Pacis & Concordiae erit vobiscum, & pugnabit pro vobis, & quemadmodum fecit prosternet inimicos suos ante faciem nostram; Nos autem qui Nobilitatem tuam & vos omnes avitae fidei & gloriae imitatores paternae, a manus & gerimus in visceribus Iesu Christi, non cessamus Deum orare nostrum pro vestra felicitate & salute, vestrig solliciti sumus & erimus semper quantum cum Deo poterimus, atque ubi opus fuerit scribemus efficaciter ad Reges & Principes Catholicos filios nostros ut vobis & causae vestrae omni ope suffragentur: Cogitamus etiam propediem mittere ad vos peculiarem Nuntium nostrum, & huius sanctae sodalitiae, in qua Deo authore meritis licet imparibus praesidemus vestrum, pium, prudentem, zelo Dei predicti et nobis probatu, qui nostri erga nos honoris testis sit vobisq omnibus in rebus ubi usus venerit adjumento sit ad salutarem & necessariam Vnionem vestram conservandam, ac Catholican fidem propagandam, ac omnia denique pro sui muneris Officio, officianda, quibus Dei honor & cultus in regno isto augeatur. Interea placuit has nostras literas ad vos praemittere testes amoris nostri, in vos et Regnum istud, et ut vos omnes tanquam filios nostros in Christo dilectos paterno affectu consolaremur; ipsum vero Petrum Lombardum, quem Nobilitas sua oratorem & negotiorum gestorem constituit apud nos, et jam libenter audivimus, et deinceps audiemus, tibi vero et caeteris*



*qui tibi unanimes pro fidei Catholicæ propugnatione  
adhærent, nostram & Apostolicam benedictionem  
benignè impartimur; Denig precamur ut Angelos  
emittat in circuitu vestro, & pios conatus vestros sua  
cælesti gratia dirigat vosq; dextra suæ potentiae  
perpetuo tueatur. Datum Romæ apud Sanctum  
Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die 20. Ianuarij,  
Anno 1601. Pontificatus nostri anno 9.*

Silvius Antonianus Cardinalis.

*Dilecto Filio Nobili viro Vgoni  
Principi Nælio, Exercitus Ca-  
tholici in Hibernia Duci, &  
Capitaneo Generali.*

The third, is an instrument here immediately follow-  
ing, comprehending the prescript forme of the Popes  
Bull, vsually granted in the presentation to spirituall  
dignities, together with the oath to the Popes supre-  
macie, and of the Articles of faith, whereunto the  
Popish Clergie are enjoyned to subscribe: All which  
things being not so familiar in this land (thanked bee  
God) as in former ages, and many no doubt desirous  
to be made acquainted with the particulars thereof,  
although it may seeme somewhat tedious, by reason of  
the prolixitie, yet haue I thought good in this place,  
to transcribe the same *verbatim* according to the  
originall.



Pope Clement 8. his Bull for the granting of  
spirituall Livings to Owen Mac Egan.

**C**Lemens *Episcopus servus servorum Dei*: Dermitio  
episcopo Corrag' salutem & Apostolicam benedicti-  
onem: Romani pontificis providentiam circumspecta  
Ecclesijs & Monasterijs singulis, quæ vacationis in-  
commoda deplorare noscuntur: ut gubernatorum  
utilium fulciantur præsidio prospicit diligenter, &  
personis Ecclesiasticis qui buslibet, ut in suis oppor-  
tunitatibus, Congruum suscipiant relevamen sub-  
ventionis auxilio, prout decens est, providet oppor-  
tunè. Cum itag sicut accepimus Monasterium Ab-  
batia nuneupatum loci de Namona sancti Benedicti,  
vel alterius ordinis, Corrag' Dioc'. certo modo vaca-  
verit, & vacet ad præsens, licet quidam Larcus  
schismaticus auctoritate pretensæ Reginæ Angliæ,  
jam à multis annis citra Monasterium illiusque  
fractus redditus, & proventus usurpaverit, & in suos  
damnabiles usus converterit, & adhuc & con-  
vertit: Nos volentes tam eidem Monasterio, de  
gubernatore utili, & idoneo perquem circumspectè  
regi, & salubriter dirigi valeat, quum dilecto filio  
Eugenio Mac Egan dictæ Dioc' Bacchalaureo in  
theologia, et magistro in artibus apud nos de literarum  
scientia, vitæ ac morum honestate alijsq probitatis,  
ac virtutum meritis multipliciter commendato, ut  
commodius sustentari valeat de alicuius subventionis  
auxilio providere ipsumque Eugenum præmissorum



*suorum meritorum intuitu favore prosequi gratioso, & à quibusvis excommunicationis suspensionib' & interdictis; alijsque Ecclesiasticis sententijs censuris à jure, vel ab homine quavis occasione vel causa latis, si quibus quomodolibet accomodatus existat ad effectum præsentium duntaxat consequendum harum seriò absolventes, & absolutum fore consentes, nec non verum & ultimum dicti Monasterij vacationis modum, etsi illo quævis reservatio generalis, & in corpore juris clausa resultet, præsentibus pro expresse habentes fraternitati tuæ per Apostolica scripta mandamus ostendamus, si per diligentem examinationem dictam Eugeniique idoneam repereris ad ipsum Monasterium in commendam obtinendum, super quo conscientiam tuam oneramus, Monasterium prædict' quæ cura & conventu curet, ac cujus & illi forsan annexorum fructuum redditus, & proventus centum & quinquaginta marcharum sterlingorum, secundum communem estimationem valorem annuu, ut dictus Eugenius asserit non excedunt quovismodo, & excujuscunque persona seu per liberam cessionem cujusvis de illius regimine & administratione in Romana curia, vel extra eam, & coram notario publico et testibus fide dignis sponte factam vacat, et si illius provisio ad sedem eandem specialiter vel generaliter pertineat, et super eodem regimine administratione inter aliquos bis habita, cujus statum etiam præsentibus haberi volumus pro expresse penderit indecisa Domini de tempore dat', presentium eidem Monasterio de Abbate prouisum, aut illud alteri commendatum canonicè non*



*existat, cum annexis hujusmodi ac omnibus juribus, & pertinentijs suis eidem Eugenio quatenus illud commendari consueuerit per eum quoad vinerit, tenendum, regendum, gubernandum, ita quòd liceat eidem Eugenio debitis & consuetis ipsius Monasterij supportatis oneribus, ac tertia parte illius fructuum, reddituum & proventuum restaurationem ipsius fabricæ, seu ornamentorum emptionem, vel fulcimentum, aut pauperum alimoniam, prout major suaserit aut exegerit necessitas omnibus alijs deductis annis singulis impertita; de residuis illius fructibus, redditibus, & proventibus disponere & ordinare, sicuti ipsius Monasterij Abbates qui pro tempore fuerant, de illis disponere & ordinare potuerunt, seu & debuerunt, alienatione tamen quorumcung bonorum immobilium, & preciosorum mobilium dicti monasterij sibi pænitus interdicta auctoritate nostra commendes curam ipsius Monasterij, ac hujusmodi regimen & administratione eidem Eugenio in spiritualibus & in temporalibus plenariè committendo. Ac illi in adipiscenda possessione, seu quasi regimini & administratione, bonorum Monasterij hujusmodi assistendo facias sibi à dilectis filijs, vassalis, & alijs subditis ejusdem monasterij consueta servitia, & jura sibi ab eis debita, integrè exhiberi contradictores auctoritatis nostræ predicta appellatione postposita compescendo: Non obstantibus fœlicis recordationis Bonifacij, P. 8. predecessoris nostri & alijs apostolicis constitutionibus, ac monasterij & ordinis prædicti etiam juramento confirmatione apostolica, vel quavis firmitate alia*



roboratis statutis & consuetudinibus contrarijs quibuscung. Aut si vassalis & alijs subditis prefatis, vel quibusvis alijs communiter, vel divisim ab endem sit sede indultum quod interdici, suspendi & excommunicari non possint per literas apostolicas, non facientes plenam & expressam, ac de verbo in verbum de indubitato hujusmodi mentione. Volumus autem quod propter commendam monasterij hujusmodi monasterium predictum in spiritualibus, non lædatur & in temporalibus detrimenta non sustineat, sed illius congruè supportentur onera consueta, utque postquam dictus Eugenius repertus fuerit idoneus, & antequam dictum monasterium ei commendetur fidem Catholicam iuxta articulos pridem a dicta sede propositos, in manibus tuis juxta unam profiteri omnino teneatur, alioquin presens gratia, & omnia que inde sequentur nulla sint, tuque aliter commendans a collatione beneficiorum suspensus sis eo ipso, sicque suspensus remaneas donec relaxationem suspensionis hujusmodi à sede predicta merueris obtinere, ac quod antequam dictus Eugenius regimini, & administrationi predictis se in aliquo misceat in eisdem manibus tuis nostro & Romanæ Ecclesiæ nomine fidelitatis debitæ solitum prestat iuramentum iuxta altera formis presentibus adnotatur, ac professionis quam idem Eugenius faciet, et iuramenti quod prestabit formas huiusmodi; nobis de verbo ad verbum per eius patentes literas suo sigillo immunitas per proprium munitium quantociùs destinare procures. Et insuper si dictus Eugenius ad hoc repertus idoneus fuerit, ut prefertur, ei nunc



*perinde irritum decernimus, & mane si serius super his à quoquam quavis authoritate, scienter vel ignoranter attentari contigerit, ac si die dat' presentium, eidem Eugenio ad id reperto idoneo monasterium predictum cum interpositione decreti huiusmodi mandavimus commendari: Forma autem iuramenti hec est. Ego Eugenius Abbas Monasterij, Abbatiae nuncupati loci de Namona sancti Benedicti, vel alterius ordinis Corragen' dioc' ab hac hora ni antea fidelis ero obediens beato Petro sanctæque Apostolicæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, & Domino nostro Domino Clementi Papæ octavo eiusque successoribus canonice intrantibus: Non ero in consilio aut consensu vel facto ut vitam perdant aut membrum, seu capiantur aut in eos violenter manus quomodolibet ingerantur vel iniuriæ aliquæ inferatur quovis quesito colore; consilium verò quod mihi credituri sunt per se aut Nuntios seu literas ad eorum damnum me sciente nemini pendam. Papatum Romanum & regale sancti Petri adjutor eis ero ad retinendum & defendendum contra omnium hominum legatum Apostolicæ sedis in eundo & redeundo, honorifice tractabo & in suis necessitatibus adiuvabo. Iura, honores, privilegia & authoritatem Romanæ ecclesiæ Domini nostri Pape et successorum suorum conservare et defendere, augere et promovere curabo. Nec ero in consilio vel facto seu in tractatu in quibus contra ipsum dominum nostrum vel eandem Romanam Ecclesiam aliqua sinistra seu prejudicialia personarum nostri honòris status et potestatis eorum machinentur, et si talia à quibuscung tractari novero,*



*vel procurari impediam, hoc pro posse et quanto citus potero comode significabo eidem domino nostro vel alteri per quem ad ipsius notitiam possit per venire Regulus sanctorum patrum decreta, ordinationes, sententias, provisiones, reseruationes, et mandata apostolica totis viribus observabo, et faciam ab alijs observari. Hereticos, Schismaticos, et rebelles domino nostro, vel successoribus predictis pro posse persequar, et impugnabo, vocatus ad Synodum veniam nisi propeditus fuero Canonica præpeditio; possessiones vero ad mensam meam pertinentes, non vendam, neg donabam, neg impignorabo, neg de nouo infeudabo, vel aliquo modo alienabo, & cum consensu conventus Monasterii mei inconsulto Romano Pontifice, sic me Deus adiuuet & hæc sancta Dei evangelia. Forma vero professionis fidei talis est. Ego Eugenius firma fide credo & profiteor omnia, & singula quæ continentur in Symbolo fidei, qua sancta Romana Ecclesia utitur, viz.*

*Credo in unum Deum Patrem Omnipotentem factorem Cæli & terræ visibilium omnium et in visibilium, et in unum Dominum Iesum Christum filium Dei unigenitum, et ex Patre natu ante omnia, secula, Deum de Deo, Lumen de lumine, deum verum de Deo vero genitum non factum, consubstantialem Patri, per quem omnia facta sunt, qui propter nos homines, et propter nostram salutem descendit de cælis, et incarnatus est de spiritu sancto ex Maria Virgine, et homo factus est, crucifixus etiam pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato, passus et sepultus est, et resurrexit tertio die*



*secundum Scripturas, et ascendit in Cælum, sedet ad dextram Patris, et iterum venturus est cum gloria judicare vivos et mortuos, vius regni non erit finis; et in spiritum sanctum dominum & unificantem, qui ex patre, filioq; procedit, qui cum patre & filio simul adoratur, et conglorificatur, qui locutus est per Prophetas, et unam sancta Catholicam et Apostolicam ecclesiam; Confiteor unum Baptisma in remissionem peccatorum, et exspecto resurrectionem mortuorum, et vitam venturi sæculi, Amen; Apostolicas et Ecclesiasticas Traditiones reliquasq; ejusdem Ecclesiæ observationes et constitutiones firmissime admitto et complector. Ite sacram Scripturam iuxta eum sensum quem tenuit et tenet sancta Mater Ecclesia, cuius est judicare de vero sensu et interpretatione sacrarum Scripturarum admitto, nec eam unqua nisi juxta unanime consensum patrum accipiam et interpretabor; profiteor quoq; vere et propriè septem esse Sacramenta novæ Legis à Iesu Christo Domino nostro instituta, atque ad salutem humani generis licet non omnia singulis necessaria, viz. Baptismum, Confirmationem, Eucharistiam, Pœnitentiam, extremam Vnctionem, Ordinem & Matrimonium; illag gratiam conferre, ex his Baptismum, Confirmationem & Ordinem sine sacrilegio reiterari non posse. Receptos quoque & approbatos Ecclesiæ Catholicæ Ritus in supradictorum omnium Sacramentorum solemnī administratione recipio, & admitto omnia & singula quæ de peccato originali, et de Iustificatione in sacro sancta Tridentina Synodo definita, et declarata fuerunt amplector,*



*et recipio ; profiteor pariter in Missa offerri Deo verum proprium & propitiatorium Sacrificium pro vivis & defunctis, atque in Sanctissimo Eucharistiæ Sacramento esse verè realiter & substantialiter Corpus & Sanguinem vna cum Anima & Divinitate Domini nostri Iesu Christi fierique conversionem totius substantiæ Panis et Corporis et totius substantiæ Vini in sanguinem, quam conversionem Catholica Ecclesia Transubstantiationem appellat. Fateor ut sub altera tantum specie totum atque integrum Christum verumg Sacramentum sumi constanter teneo purgatorium esse animasq ibi detentas fidelium suffragijs iuvari, similiter et sanctos unà cum Christo regnantes venerandos atq invocandos esse eosq orationes Deo pro nobis offerre, atq eoru reliquias esse venerandos ; firmissimè assero imagines Christi et Deiparæ semper Virginis, nec non aliorum Sanctoru habendas et retinendas esse ac eis debitum honorem & venerationem esse impartiendum, Indulgentiarum etiam potestatem Christo in Ecclesia relictam fuisse, illarumg usum Christiano populo unanimi salutarem esse affirmo sanctam Catholicam et Apostolicam Romanam Ecclesiam omnium Ecclesiarum Matrem et magnam agnosco ; Romano Pontifici beati Petri Apostolorum principis successori ac Iesu Christi Vicario veram obedientiam spondeo ac Iuro. Cætera item omnia à sacris Canonibus & Oecumenicis Consilijs, ac præcipuè a Sacrosanctâ Tridentina Synodo tradita, definita, & declarata indubitanter recipio ; profiteor simulque contraria omnia atque Hæreses quascung ab Ecclesia damnatas*



*& anathematizatas, ego pariter damno rejicio & anathematizo. Hanc veram Catholicam Fidem extra quam nemo salvus esse potest, quam in præsentī sponte profiteor, & veraciter teneo eandem integram et inviolatam, usq; ad extremum vitæ spiritum constantissimè Deo adjutante retinere, & confiteri atq; à meis subditis, vel illis quorum cura in munere meo spectabit, teneri, doceri, & prædicari quantum in me erit curaturum. Ego idem Eugenius spondeo, voueo, et juro, sic me Deus adjuvet, et hæc sancta Dei Evangelia. Dat' Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum Anno Incarnationis Domini, 1595. Pridie Calend. Novemb' pontificatus nostri Anno quarto.*

Let the understanding Reader now surcease to marvell, that the Bishop of Rome doth striue and struggle to depose Princes, and to animate and encourage Subjects to heathenish and inhumane murders, and rebellions, since hee dareth (like the ancient Gyants) to attempt and assault Heaven it selfe, and to displant and displace from the Throne of his Majestie Christ Iesus himselfe, who is God to be blessed for evermore: what is it else, but to make the Precepts and Traditions of men, equivalent with the doctrine and Commandements of God? what is it else but to usurpe an absolute and universall power and authoritie over the flocke of Christ, (as his Lieutenant and Vicar) for the warrant whereof hee hath no Commission, nor was hee called thereunto as *Aron* was? Lastly, what is it else but to remooue and



pull downe the Son of God from his triumphant glory, where he sitteth at the right hand of his Father, (and where he must abide, the holy Apostle bearing witnesse) till all his enemies be subdued under his feet and to bring backe his glorified body, and Deified soule, at the becke and word of every hedge Priest, into their sacrilegious Sacrament of the Altar; Surely a man need go no farther for testimony, seeing the Antichristian lowing of this prophane Bull, doth lively delineate, and plainly demonstrate that purple Harlot, which hath made all nations drunke with the dregs of her fornication, having seated her selfe upon the seven hils of Rome: I should be over troublesome to the Reader, to shake up all the turmpery, and rake in all the durt convayed in his Bulls belly: yet one thing more I cannot passe over in silence, namely for as much as the Pope perceiveth that his kingdome cannot long stand, but that Babell must fall, and Antichrist must be consumed with the breath of the Lords mouth; therefore with prudent care, and politicke circumspection, hee suffereth none to bee initiated into his holy Sacrament of orders, nor preferred to any Ecclesiasticall promotion, but hee is first bound by his hand, word, and corporall oath, to maintaine and defend the pompe, honour, priviledges, prerogatiues, and doctrines of the Sea of Rome, especially and namely such as are contradictorily repugnant to the written word of God: And that they shall persecute and impugne all those (whether Prince or people) that shall bee adjudged Hretikes or Schismatikes in



the Popes consistory: Consider therefore I beseech the gentle Reader, whether any Priest that taketh this oath (for they all take it) can bee accounted a good Subject to the Crowne of England, but to proceed.

Many of the Traytors being put to the Sword, the Strangers banished, and the Provincials protected, as you haue heard; there were still remayning in action in Mounster (left for example to perdition) *Fits Maurice* the Lord of Lixnaw, *Iohn fits Thomas*, the brother of *Iames*, the late titular Earle, the Knight of the *Glynn*, and *Thomas Oge* a *Geraldine*, all which with their forces joyned in one, were not able to make two hundred men, lurking about the Mountaine of Slewlugher, and in the Fastnesse of Clanmorris.

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## CHAP. XIX.

*False rumours divulged of the State of Mounster. The Lord President sent one thousand foote munitioned and victualled to the Lord Deputy. A Letter from her Majesty to the Lord President concerning the Earle of Clanricard. A Letter from Iohn Burke to the Lord President. A Letter from Iohn Burke to Sir George Thornton. A Certificate from a Popish Bishop in the behalfe of Iohn Burke.*

THE President therefore, aswell to debarre these straglers from releefe, as to prevent all meanes of succours to *Osulevan*, if hee should returne with new forces, caused all the county of Kerry and Desmond, Beare, Bantry, and Carbery, to be left absolutely



wasted, constrayning all the Inhabitants thereof, to withdraw their Cattle into the East and Northern parts of the county of Corke; these things thus effected, his Lordship signified by his Letters to the Lords of her Majesties privie Councell in England; that although the hearts of the Irish were no lesse corrupt then heretofore, and that nothing but the sword held over their heads could containe them in subjection: yet would hee undertake (God assisting) that no rebellion should arise in the Province, except the Townes (who grew daily into more deeper discontentments, by reason of the new Standard) should peradventure revolt, which in his judgement was unlikely. About this time it was vulgarly reported in England by some who had their tongues poynted with slaunder, and their hearts stuffed with malice, that Mounster was newly burning with fresh flames of rebellion, that the Vicount *Roch*, the Lord of *Cahyr*, and *Cormock Mac Dermond* had entered into open hostility, and that *Tirrell* was come againe into the Province, and had taken the prey of Moyallo from the Garrison at noone day; although the world may bee satisfied concerning these slaunderous reports, by that which hath beene already delivered, yet to giue more particular satisfaction to all, or to any that should make question hereof. First the Lord *Roch* he was never touched with the least spot of disloyaltie against her Majesty, yea such loyall constancie did hee alwayes embrace and practise, that in the vniuersall inundation of treasons, when all the



Province in generall, and his father in particular, did combine against their anoynted Soveraigne, at that time, and ever since did hee continue himselfe within the lists of an obedient Subject, so that his Lordship herein was much wronged. Then for my Lord of *Cahir*; although it bee true indeed, that at the first hee did run the common fortune of the rest, and peradventure would doe so againe if the like occasion were offered, yet that hee did ever relapse since the Presidents government, is meerely false and untrue; yea such outward obedience hath hee professed, that hee hath brought to execution some notorious Traytors. And as for *Cormock Mac Dermond*, since his submission, hee was himselfe in person with Sir *Charles Wilmot*, at the late service in Glangarue, and lost thirty of his best men in her Majesties service in Carbry with Captaine *Taffe*. Lastly for the burning of Moyallo, there was no Rebelle that ever durst attempt any thing against that Towne, or any part of the Cattle thereunto belonging, since the Presidents first comming into the Province, and to demonstrate the feare that the Rebels ever lived in since the siege of Kinsale; I can assure the Reader upon certaine knowledge, that all the spoyles that the Traytors haue taken from the Subjects *Conjunctim* or *Divisim*, doe not amount to three hundred Cowes, but haue lived in their strength, spending upon the Spanish wines, and their owne victuals.

The Lord Deputy having occasion to employ more



forces into Connaght, hee with the Councell of estate upon the eighteenth of Ianuary, wrote unto the President, to pray and require him to spare out of his List of Mounster (if hee might conveniently doe it) one Regiment of one thousand foote, with a competent proportion of victuals, which not many dayes after was acomplished. Also about this time, the President received a Letter from her Majestie; which although it doth concerne the Earle of Clanricard in his particular, yet that the Reader may informe himselfe, how much that noble gentleman was esteemed (and that worthily) of his Soveraigne Mistris, I doe thinke it meet to be related.

*A Letter from her Majesty to the Lord President  
concerning the Earle of  
Clanrickard.*

*Your most assured constantly  
affected Soveraigne, E. R.*

**R**IGHT trusty and well beloved, Wee greete you well, wee need not use many arguments to you, when wee resolute to recommend either man or matter, seeing you haue made so good demonstration of your obedience, and entire affection to performe our will and pleasure, much lesse then the person or causes of this noble man (our cosen *Clanriccard*) whose carriage here doth challenge our extraordinary good opinion, as his merite there procured your owne plentiful testimony of the same; even when all trees did shew



what fruits they bare : His comming ever was to doe his duty to us, where hee was desirous (as other Noble-men haue done) to haue stayed some time, unlesse some occasion for our seruice should necessarily require his returne : Of which kind, because the one hath presented it selfe, by the going of our Deputy into that Province, where his possessions lye, and that the weake estate of his mother likewise falleth out to bee such, as (if Almighty God should call her before the same were better settled) many inconveniences might fall to the house by his absence, hee is now returned backe, with as much expedition as hee can : And therefore wee doe (as to one of our principall Councillors in that state) recommend him to you to be furthered and assisted in all his occasions, wherein as we know that publicke triall which hee hath made of himselfe (to the honour of the Nobility of that kingdome) whereof so many scandalous rumours haue beene spred, onely to invite our Enemies under that opinion of their ill affection, both hath, and will invite you to loue him, so wee doe thinke that wee haue missed our markes in *George*, if hee shall not haue the best fruits, which either your publike credit, or private friendship may afford, whosoever wee shall recommend as now wee doe this Noble-man (besides his publike desert) for many other constant professions of his humble and reverent affections towards our selfe : Let this therefore suffice for him, and for your selfe, of whom wee can say no more, then heretofore wee haue done, either of our good opinion of you, or of



our gracious thankes, for all your great and honest services : Given under our Signet at our Pallace of *Westminster* the seventeenth of *December*, 1602, in the fiue and fourtieth yeare of our Raigne.

Now although the present estate of this Province, did promise a present reduction and future quiet, yet to make it appeare, that the false hearts of the superstitious Irish were no way addicted and inclined thereunto, omitting many instances that I might remember; I will recite onely certaine particulars concerning *Iohn Burke*, a gentleman of the county of Limerick, of whom wee haue spoken before in the beginning of the first booke, who much grieved (as it should seeme) that their expectations had beene frustrated concerning Spanish hopes ; this last Summer would therefore take a Iourney to the Court of Spaine, as a generall Agent to sollicit the King for supplyes against the next spring : And therefore suddenly leaving his wife (which was one of Sir *George Thorntons* daughters) and family, about the middest of *December* last fled to the rebels Campe, not doubting but from them to bee furnished with all necessaries for this his employment : at his departure hee left certaine Letters with his wife to bee delivered to the President, and Sir *George Thornton* his Father in law, declaring his intention for a Iourney into Spaine, but to disguise his treasons hee made Religion a maske, by pretending a pilgrimage to *Saint-Iames*, of Compostella and Rome ; but because his dissembling may the better appeare,



I will set downe the words of his own Letters written to the Lord President and Sir *George*.

*A Letter from Iohn Burke to the  
Lord President.*

**I**F you remember Right Honourable (and my very good Lord) the first time I met your honour, how desirous I was to forsake the world, and to follow the service of God, from which determination I was (through the weaknesse of my spirit) restrayned by the simple perswasions of certaine of my friends; sithence which time I haue beene so inamoured with the world, that I did not spare to walke in all the wayes where hee lead me either of envie, malice, deceit, flatterie or falshood (as I doubt not but your Lordship in some degree noted, when through envie and hatred I haue (for to procure their deaths) accused the Lord *Burke* and others of certaine Articles of treason, and now being bound to satisfaction, I acknowledge mine error in speaking euill of my Neighbours, I haue as I said by all meanes to curry fauour with the world; so that by seeking to make my selfe a friend vnto the world, I was thereby made an enemy vnto God, but being now called to repentance by the especiall grace of God, I haue vowed to goe to the pilgrimage of Rome and Saint *Iames*; and doe assure unto your Lordship, that I will carry alwayes as faithful a disposition to the State of England (to whom I wish all honour, dignity, and prosperity) as any



other of my calling, and doe desire your Lordship not to beleue any thing which should be said to the contrary: I haue left the little Lands and goods which I had with my wife, and doe desire your Lordship to maintaine her in the same untill my comming: I would neuer come amongst these fellowes, but for fear my friends would perswade your Lordship not to grant mee your Passeport for to goe: But now seeing it that pleased your Lordship to grant mee her Majesties protection, I will remoue from this company, desiring your Lordship to send mee your Passeport for to goe to this pilgrimage, the which I will expect neere Corke. And now taking my leaue with your Lordship, I rest

Your Lordship's loving Friend,  
*John Burke.*

*A Letter from Iohn Burke to Sir George Thornton*

**R**Ight Worshipfull, and my very loving Father, for that I know you would bee much troubled in mind to thinke, what should moue me to depart thus from my wife, friends and lands, I thought good to tell you the very truth, which I desire you without any scruple to beleue; I haue taken upon me to be a Pilgrim for the space of two yeares. First I must visit Saint *Iago* in Spaine, and from thence to Rome: I haue sought the Letters of favour from certaine Priests in this Countrey, to their fellowes beyond the Seas: You nor my Lord President may not thinke



that I goe to procure any mischief to the English State, to whom I should be more willing to doe good, than able to doe harme, I do not now speake unto you in the spirit of flattery or feare, falsehood, or deceit, or for any wordly pollicie; I speake before God, (and God knoweth that I speake the truth;) I doe not goe with any intent to harme any person, but onely to doe judgement upon myselfe, for a satisfaction unto God for my sinnes; the little living I haue, I doe leaue with my wife, the which and herselfe doe leaue to your fatherly care: And so I rest

Your Sonne

*John Burke.*

Some man peradventure giving credit to these colourable protestations, would perswade himselfe that this professed Pilgrimage was the true and onely end of this his journey, and so should I, were not these vizards dismasked, and these frauds detected, by certaine Letters from sundry Priests, and Popish Clergiemen, found and conuaied to the President. I will not trouble the Reader with needlesse transcripts of these severall Letters, I will onely relate one or two, which may apparently convince his deepe dissembling, written from a Popish Bishop.



A Certificate from a Popish Bishop in the behalfe  
of *Iohn Burke*.

**N**Os *Mallachias Dei et Apostolicæ Sedis gratia Duacensis in Hibernia Episcopus*, notum facimus *Catholico ac invictissimo Hispaniarum Regi Phillipi, Domino Matheo de Oviedo, Archiepiscopo Dublinensi, et Metropolitano Hiberniæ: Omnibus Christi fidelibus, tam spiritualibus, sive regularibus, quam secularibus personis ac si proprio nomine nominara Horum Latorem Iohannem Burk, Nobile præstant' virtutis virum propugnatore Hæreticæ pravitatis acerrimu, refugium, ac defensor' religiosarum personarum esse, & ob id versari inter Anglos veræ fidei desertores, in maximo vitæ, & bonorum que hereditario jure non sine multorum præcertim Catholicorum commendo, & vtilitate adhuc possidet, terras petere alienas eo animi decreto vt aliquando in propriam reversus patriam, et patriæ miles et decus esse possit.*

*Proinde vos omnes pietatis et veræ religionis amatores, Catholicum Regem Philippum, Dominum Matheum supra dictos cæterosq; cujuscung nationu conditionisue sitis, quos vna fides vnum baptisma, vnus spiritus adjunxit. Oramus, obsecramus, & obet est amur in Christi visceribus, vt cum prædictum Iohannem Burke, omni fide, omni auxilio, omni favoure, dignissimum Catholicum, de repub' optime meritum, accipiatis, benigneque tractetis. In cujus rei fidem & testimonium, Sigillum ac Chirographium apposui, &c.*

*Malachias Duac' Episcopus.*



Another that calleth himselfe Fryer *Simon de S. Sto.* hath these words, writing to the said supposed Archbishop of Dublin.

A Certificate from a Popish Priest in the behalfe of *Iohn Burke.*

*Notum tibi facio, vt hoc invictissimo Regi notum facere cures harum Latorem Iohannem Burke, relictis bonis paternis te adire, quo illi ad Regem aditum præbeas sui temporis opportunitatem, ad peragenda negotia maximi ponderis & momenti, quæ vnanimis hujus regionis saluti conducunt, &c.*

If then as in a former Letter hee tooke upon him this Iourney, to make himselfe an expert Souldier, whereby he might proue in time a Champion, and ornament to his Countrey, or if the allegation of the latter may bee credited, namely, that he hath business with the King of Spaine, about affaires of great moment and consequence, for the good of this nation, then are his owne pretexts of religion, vowes and pilgrimages, devised onely for a blinder to conceale his trayterous complots: To prevent therefore such mischiefs as might grow unto the State, from his solicitations in Spaine; the President was content that Sir *George Thornton* should send a messenger unto him (being then in the Rebels Campe) to revoke and recall him if it were possible, from this irreligious expedition, which at last was effected by the perswasions, which his mother, wife and friends ysed unto him.



CHAPTER XX.

*The Lord Deputie sent to the Lord President for men and munition, and himselfe to repaire unto him. The List of her Majesties forces in Mounster. Sir Edward Wingfield sent by the Lord Prisent with five hundred foote into Connaght. The Lord of Lixnaw defeated by Captaine Boys. The Castle of Kilco taken by Captaine Flower. The Castle of Berengarry taken by Sir Charles Wilmot. Sir Charles Wilmot and Sir George Thornton left by the Lord President Ioynt Commissioners for the government of Mounster. A Letter sent by the Lord President from the Lord Deputy to the Lords of the Councell.*

**T**HE Lord Deputie understanding now in what state the Province of Mounster stood, directed his Letters to the President, requiring of him, that if necessary occasions of present service did not forbid, he would send to Athlone (for the warre of Connaght) certaine foote Companies and a proportion of victuals from Limerick, so much as forth of her Majesties store, there might conveniently be spared, and withall to repaire himselfe unto Dublin, from whence he was to take his Iourney into England: The list of Mounster consisting at that time of Horse and Foote as followeth.

*The List of Mounster as it stood.*

Of Horse.

|                                 |      |        |
|---------------------------------|------|--------|
| Lord <i>President</i> ,         | 100. | } 200. |
| Earle of <i>Thomond</i> ,       | 50.  |        |
| Captaine <i>William Taffe</i> , | 50.  |        |



## Of Foote.

|                                     |      |        |
|-------------------------------------|------|--------|
| Lord <i>President</i> ,             | 200. | } 1900 |
| Earle of <i>Thomond</i> ,           | 200. |        |
| Lord <i>Audley</i> ,                | 150. |        |
| Sir <i>Charles Wilmot</i> ,         | 150. |        |
| Sir <i>Richard Percy</i> ,          | 150. |        |
| Sir <i>Francis Barkeley</i> ,       | 150. |        |
| Sir <i>George Thornton</i> ,        | 100. |        |
| Captaine <i>Francis Kingsmill</i> , | 100. |        |
| Captaine <i>George Kingsmill</i> ,  | 100. |        |
| Captaine <i>George Flower</i> ,     | 100. |        |
| Captaine <i>Charles Coote</i> ,     | 100. |        |
| Captaine <i>Gawen Harvie</i> ,      | 100. |        |
| Captaine <i>Thomas Boyce</i> ,      | 100. |        |
| Captaine <i>Francis Slingsby</i> ,  | 100. |        |
| Captaine <i>William Stafford</i> ,  | 100. |        |

Although there was never weary Marriner in a violent and tempestuous storme, more desired to arriue into his wished Harbour, nor a virgin Bride, after a lingering and desperate loue, more longing for the celebration of her nuptiall, then the Lord President was to goe for England, yet was hee content to deferre his private affections, in regard of the publike charge committed unto him; and therefore first hee sent for Sir *Charles Wilmot* out of Kerry, acquainting onely him with that Iourney, because his purpose was having before hand had good experience of his suffi-



ciencie, to leaue him in speciall trust with the government in his absence. Then hee tooke order for the satisfying of the Lord Deputie his demands, and therefore appointed Sir *Edward Wingfield* with five hundred foote, the three and twentieth of February to take his Iourney into Connaght: And lastly, having taken order, how the other forces should be disposed, he tooke his Iourney from Corke towards Dublin; about the beginning of February being newly come to Dublin, hee received Letters from Sir *Charles Wilmot*, that the Lord of *Lixnaw* having assembled some two hundred foote and twenty horse, in his Fastnesse neere Listall, Captaine *Thomas Bois* left by Sir *Charles* to command the Garrisons in Kerry, drew upon his quarter in the night, killed eighty of his men, tooke all his substance of Cowes, Hacknies, Garrans, and all his provisions of Wheate, Oatemell, and Butter; so that although his Company was not all slaine, yet were they for ever after unable to assemble together in any number: about the same time also Captaine *George Flower* tooke in the Castle of Kilcow, being a place of great strength, and the onely Castle in Carbery that held out in rebellion; presently after this defeate, Captaine *Bois* was advertised that the Lord of Lixnaw his brother, *Garret Roe Stack*, and some other Provinciall rebels were in the Castle of Berengary; whereupon that night hee blocked up the Castle with a sufficient guard of men, that none should issue forth, untill the Governour his Collonell might be acquainted therewith: Sir



*Charles* receiving intelligence hereof, being then holding the Sessions at Limerick, instantly left the Citie, and taking with him by Sea two small Peeces of Ordnance, presented himselfe before the said Castle; the Warders and the rest within, perceiving no possible meanes to escape, yeelded themselues to her Majesties mercy: But the advertisement concerning the Lord of Lixnaw, himselfe failed, the remainder were all taken, the principals presently executed, and the rest were pardoned by the Lord Lieutenant at his coming to Corke: The Lord President having thus left Mounster, reestablished in a firme and vniuersall peace, by the assent of the Lord Deputy, having appointed Sir *Charles Wilmot*, and Sir *George Thornton* (Ioynt Commissioners) for governing the Province, prepared himselfe for England; but before his departure, hee made an ample relation to the Lord Deputy and Councell, in what estate he had left his Province, and the Lord Deputy and Councell having likewise declared unto him, the present estate of the whole kingdome, and also they gaue him large instructions, to negotiate with her Majesty and the Lords touching the affaires of Ireland, which done, the Lord Deputy upon the sixe and twentieth day of February, tooke his Iourney towards Drogheda, to parley with *Tyrone*, and to receiue his submission as hee promised, and performed, and at his taking of his leaue with the President, hee delivered unto him this Letter directed to the Lords of the Councell.



*A Letter sent by the Lord President from the Lord Deputy to the Lords of the Councell in England.*

MAY it please your Lordships; Although I am unwilling to informe you often of the present estate of this kingdome, or of any particular accidents or services, because the one is subject to so much alteration, and the other lightly delivered unto all that are not present, with such uncertaintie, and that I am loath to make any project unto your Lordships, either of my requests to you, or my owne resolutions heere, since so many things fall suddenly out, which may alter the grounds of either; yet since I doe write now by one that can so sufficiently supply the defects of a Letter, I haue presumed at this time to impart unto your Lordships that I thinke fit to bee remembered, or doe determine on; most humbly desiring your Lordships, that if I erre in the one, or hereafter alter the other, you will not impute it to my want of sinceritie, or constancie, but to the nature of the subject whereof I must treat, or of the matter whereon I worke: And first to present unto your Lordships the outward face of the foure Provinces, and after to guesse (as neere as I can) at their dispositions. Mounster by the good government and industry of the Lord President, is cleare of any force in rebellion, except some few unable to make any forcible head. In Leinster, there is not one declared Rebell: In Con-naght there is none but in *Orwrks* Countrey: In Vlster none but *Tyrone*, and *Bryan Mac Art*, who



was never Lord of any countrey, and now doth with a Body of loose men, and some Creaghts continue in Glancomkynes, or neere the Borders thereof. *Cohonoght Macguyre* sometimes Lord of Fermannagh, is banished out of the country, who liues with *Orwrke*, and at this time *Connor Roe Macguire* is possessed of it by the Queene, and holds it for her. I belecue, that generally the Lords of the Countreyes that are reclaimed, desire a peace, though they will be wavering, till their Lands and Estates are assured unto them from her Majestie, and as long as they see a partie in rebellion to subsist, that is of a power to ruine them if they continue Subjects, or otherwise shall be doubtful of our defence. All that are out, doe seeke for mercy, except *Orwrke* and *Osulevan*, who is now with *Orwrke*; and these are obstinate only out of their diffidence, to bee safe in any forgiuenesse. The loose men, and such as are onely Captaines of Bonnaghts, as *Tirrell*, and *Brian Mac Art*, will nourish the warre as long as they see any possibilitie to subsist, and like ill humours, haue recourse to any part that is unsound. The Nobilitie, Townes, and English Irish, are for the most part as weary of the warre as any, but unwilling to haue it ended, generally for feare that upon a peace will ensue a severe reformation of Religion; and in particular, many bordering Gentlemen that were made poore by their owne faults, or by Rebels incursions, continue their spleene to them now they are become subjects; and having used to helpe themselves by stealths, did never more use them,



nor better prevailed in them, then now that these Submittees haue layed aside their owne defence, and betaken themselues to the protection and justice of the State; and many of them haue tasted so much sweet in Entertainments, that they rather desire a warre to continue them, then a quiet Harvest that might arise out of their owne honest labour: so that I doe finde none more pernicious Instruments of a new warre, then some of these. In the meane time, *Tyrone* while hee shall liue, will blow every sparke of discontent, worne hopes that shall lye hid in a corner of the Kingdome, and before hee shall be utterly extinguished, make many blazes, and sometimes set on fire, or consume the next subjects unto him. I am perswaded that his combination is already broken, and it is apparant, that his meanes to subsist in any power, is overthrowne: but how long hee may liue as a woodkerne, and what new accidents may fall out while he doth live I know not. If it bee imputed to my fault, that notwithstanding her Majesties great Forces, hee doth still liue, I beseech your Lordships to remember how securely the *Banditoes* of Italy doe liue, betweene the power of the King of Spaine and the Pope. How many men of all Countreyes of severall times, haue in such sort preserved themselues long from the great power of Princes, but especially in this Countrey where there are so many difficulties to carry an Armie, in most places so many unaccessable strengths for them to flye unto; and then to bee pleased to consider the great worke that first I had to



breake this maine Rebellion, to defend the Kingdome from a dangerous Invasion of a mightie forraine Prince, with so strong a partie in the Countrey, and now the difficultie to root out scattered Troopes, that had so many unaccessable Dennes to lurke in, which as they are by Nature of extreame strength and perill to bee attempted: so it is impossible for any people Naturally and by Art to make greater use of them; And though with infinite dangers wee doe beat them out of one, yet is there no possibilitie for us to follow them with such agilitie, as they will flye to another; And it is most sure, that never Traytor knew better how to keepe his owne head, then this; nor any Subjects haue a more dreadfull awe, to lay violent hands on their sacred Prince, then these people haue to touch the person of their *Oneales*, and hee that hath as pestilent a judgement, as ever any had to nourish and to spread his owne infection, hath the ancient swelling, and desire of liberty in a conquered Nation to worke upon, their feare to bee rooted out, or to haue their old faults punished upon all particular discontents, and generally over all the kingdome, the feare of a persecution for religion, the debasing of the Coyne (which is grievous unto all sorts) and a dearth and famine which is already begun, and must of necessity grow shortly to extremity; the least of which alone, haue beene many times iufficient motiues, to driue the best and most quiet estates into suddaine confusion: These will keepe all spirits from settling, breed new combinations, and (I feare) even stirre the



Townes themselues to solicit forraine aid with promise to cast themselues into their protection: And although it bee true, that if it had pleased her Majesty to haue longer continued her Army in greater strength, I should the better haue provided for what these clouds doe threaten, and sooner and more easily, either haue made this Countrey a rased Table, wherein shee might haue written her owne Lawes, or haue tyed the ill disposed and rebellious hands, till I had surely planted such a Government, as would haue overgrowne and killed any weeds that should haue risen under it: Yet since the necessitie of the State doeth so urge a diminution of this great expence, I will not despayre to goe on with this worke, through all these difficulties, if wee be not interrupted by forraine Forces, although perchance wee may be encountered with some new irruptions, and (by often adventuring) with some disasters, and it may bee your Lordships shall sometimes heare of some spoiles done upon the Subjects, from the which it is impossible to preserue them in all places with farre greater forces then ever yet were kept in this Kingdome: And although it hath beene seldome heard, that an Armie hath beene carried on with so continuall Action, and enduring without any intermission of Winter breathings, and that the difficulties at this time to keepe any Forces in the place where wee must make the Warre, (but especially our Horse) are almost beyond any hope to prevent, yet with the favour of God, and her Majesties Fortune, I doe determine my selfe to



drawe into the Field, assoone as I haue received her Majesties Commaundements by the Commissioners who it hath pleased her to send over, and in the meane time I hope by mine owne presence or Directions, to set every partie on worke, that doth adjoyne, or may bee drawne against any force that now doth remaine in rebellion. In which Iourney the successe must bee in the hands of GOD; but I will confidently promise to omit nothing that is possible by us to bee done, to giue the last blow unto the Rebellion. But as all paine and anguish impatient of the present, doeth use change for a remedie: so will it bee impossible for us to settle the minds of these people unto a Peace, or reduce them unto Order, while they feele the smart of these sensible griefes, and apparant feares which I haue remembred to your Lordships, without some hope of redresse or securitie. Therefore I will presume, (how unworthie soever I haue been) since it concernes the Province her majestie hath given mee, with all humblenesse to lay before your graue Iudgements, some few things which I thinke neccessary to bee considered of.

And first, whereas the alteration of the Coyne, and aking away of the exchange in such measure as it tha first promised, hath bred a generall grievance unto men of all qualities, and so many incommodities to all sorts, that it is beyond the Iudgement of any tsaw I can heare, to prevent a confusion in this Estate, by the continuance thereof, that (at the least) it would



please your Lordships to put this people in some certaine hope, that upon the end of the warre, this newe Standard shall bee abolished or eased; And that in the meane time the Armie may bee favourably dealt with in the Exchange, since by the last Proclamation your Lordships sent over, they doe conceiue their case will bee more hard then any others: for if they haue allowed them nothing but indefinitely as much as they shall meerely gaine out of their Entertainments, that will prooue nothing to the greater part: For the onely possibilitie to make them to liue upon their Entertainment, will bee to allowe them Exchange for the greatest part thereof, since now they doe not onely pay excessiue prizes for all things, but can hardly get any thing for this Money; And although wee haue presumed to alter (in shew though not in effect) the Proclamation in that poynt, by retayning a power in our selues to proportion their allowance for Exchange: yet was it with a minde to conforme our proceedings therein according to your Lordships next directions, and therefore doe humbly desire to know your pleasures therein For our opinions of the last project it pleased your Lordships to send us, I doe humbly leaue it to our generall Letters: Only as for my selfe I made overture to the Councell in the other you sent directly onely to my selfe; and because I found them generally to concurre, that it would prooue as dangerous as the first, I did not thinke it fit any otherwise to declare your Lordships pleasure therein. And whereas it pleased your Lord-



ships in your last Letters to command us to deale moderately in the great matter of Religion, I had before the receipt of your Lordships Letters presumed to advise such as dealt in it, for a time to hold a more restrynt hand therein, and wee were both thinking ourselues what course so to take in the Revocation of what was already done, with least encouragement to them and others, since the feare that this course begun in Dublin would fall upon the rest, was apprehended over all the Kingdome: So that I thinke your Lordships Direction was to great purpose, and the other course might haue overthrowne the meanes to our owne end of Reformation of Religion: Not that I thinke too great precisenesse can bee used in the reforming of our selues, the abuses of our owne Clergie, Church-livings, or Discipline; nor that the trueth of the Gospell can with too great vehemencie or industrie bee set forward in all places, and by all ordinarie meanes most proper unto it selfe that was first set foorth and spread in meeknesse; not that I think any corporall prosecution or punishment can bee too severe for such as shall bee found seditious Instruments of forraine, or inward practises, not that I thinke it fit, that any principall Magistrates should bee chosen without taking the Oath of obedience, nor tollerated in absenting themselves from publique Divine Service, but that wee may bee advised how wee doe punish in their bodies or goods, any such onely for Religion, as doe professe to bee faithful Subjects to her Majestie, and against whom the contrary cannot bee prooved. And



ince, if the Irish were utterly rooted out, there was much lesse likelihood that this Countrey could bee thereby in any time planted by the English, since they are so farre from inhabiting well any part of that they haue already; & that more than is likely to be inhabited, may be easily chosen out and reserved in such places by the sea side, or upon great Rivers, as may bee planted to great purpose, for a future absolute reducement of this Countrey, I thinke it would as much avayle the speedy setling of this Countrey as any thing; that it would please her Majestie to deale liberally with the Irish Lords of Countreyes, or such as are now of great reputation amongst them, in the distribution of such Lands as they haue formerly possessed, or the state heere can make little use of for her Majestie; If they continue as they ought to doe and yeeld the Queene as much commoditie as shee may otherwise expect, shee hath made a good purchase of such Subjects for such Land. If any of them heereafter be disobedient to her Lawes, or breake forth in Rebellion, shee may when they shall bee more divided, ruine them more easily for example unto others, and (if it be thought fit) may plant English or other Irish in their Countreyes: For although there ever haue beene, and hereafter may bee small eruptions in some places, which at the first may easily bee suppressed, yet the suffering them to grow to that generall head and combination, did questionlesse proceed from great errour in the judgement heere, and may be easily (as I thinke) prevented hereafter,



And further, it may please her Majestie to ground her resolution for the time and numbers of the next abatement of the List of her Armie somewhat upon our poore advise from hence, and to beleeeue, that wee will not so farre corrupt our Iudgements with any private respects, and without necessitie, to continu<sup>e</sup> her Charge, seeing wee doe thoroughly conceiue how grievous it is unto her Estate, and that wee may not bee precisely tyed to an Establishment that shall conclude the payments of the Treasure, since it hath ever been thought fit to bee otherwise, till the coming over of the Earle of *Essex*; and some such extraordinarie Occasions may fall out, that it will bee dangerous to attend your Lordships Resolutions, and when it will bee safe to diminish the Armie heere, that there may bee some other course thought of by some other employment, to disburden this Countrey of the idle Sword-men, in whom I finde an inclination apt enough to bee carried elsewhere, either by some of this Countrey of best repvtation among them, or in Companies as now they stand under English Captaines who may be reinforced with the greatest part of the Irish; That it may bee left to our discretion to make Passages and Bridges into Countreyes, otherwise unaccessable, and to build little Pyles of stone in such Garrisons as shall bee thought fittest, to bee continuall Bridles upon the people, by the commoditie of which wee may at any time drawe the greatest part of the Armie together, to make a Head against any part that shall first breake out, and yet reserue the places



onely with a Ward to put in greater Forces as occasion shall require, which I am perswaded will prooue great Pledges 'upon this Countrey, that upon any urgent cause the Queene may safely draw the greatest part of her Armie heere out of the Kingdome, to bee employed for a time elsewhere, wherein I beseech your Lordships to consider, what a strength so many experienced Captaines and Souldiers would bee, to any Armie of new men erected in England, against an Invasion, or sent abroad in any offensive warre: But untill these places bee built, I cannot conceiue how her Majestie (with any safetie) can make any great diminution of her Armie, Lastly, I doe humbly desire your Lordships to receiue the further explanation of my meaning, and confirmation of my reasons that doe induce mee unto these propositions: for the Lord President of Mounster, who as he hath been a very worthy Actor in the reducement and defence of this Kingdome, so doe I thinke him to be the best able to giue you through account of the present Estate, and future providence for the preservation thereof; wherein it may please your Lordships to require his opinion of the hazzard this Kingdome is like to runne in, if it should by any mightie Power be invaded, and how hard it will bee for us in any measure to provide for the present defence, if any such bee intended, and withall to goe on with the suppression of these that are left in rebellion, so that wee must either adventure the kindling of this fire that is almost extinguished or intending onely that, leaue the other to exceeding



perill. And thus having remembred to your Lordships the most material poynts (as I conceiue) that are fittest for the present to bee considered of, I doe humbly recommend my selfe and them to your Lordships favour. From her Majesties Castle of Dublin the sixe and twentieth of *February*, 1602.

After the Lord Deputie departed, by reason of Easterly winds the President was stayed aboue three weekes in Dublin, during which time, every day Posts were emploied betweene them, untill the twentieth of *March*, which was the day the Lord President set saile for England; the day following hee arrived at Bewmarris: at his coming to Chester, hee met with the lamentable newes of the decease of his good and gracious Mistresse Queene *Elizabeth*, for whom, (as he had good cause) he extreamely mourned: But two dayes following (being at Lichfield) he assisted the Major in the proclaiming of King *Iames*, which gaue him new life, whom I beseech God long to preserve and continue his Posteritie for ever, over his triumphant Monarchy of *Great Brittain* and *Ireland*.

Although my Worke bee finished, yet according to the course I haue held in the end of the two former Bookes, I may not omit to recount to the Reader the most memorable Services, and accidents which happened in this yeere 1602. In the Catalogue whereof I must first begin with the forces sent into Carbery with the Earle of *Thomond*; The sending of Sir *Charles*



*Wilmot* with his Regiment into Kerry: The Lord Presidents departure from Corke, with the Armie towards Donboy: His long abode at Carew Castle, expecting Munition and Victuals: The difficulty he had in his approaching towards Donboy: The defeat given to the Rebels: The arrivall of a Spanish Caravell in Beare, with Letters of Comfort, Money, and Munition from *Spaine*: The siege of Donboy, the winning and rasing of it: The Presidents returne to Corke, and Sir *Charles Wilmots* into Kerry: The flight of *Iames Archer* the Iesuite, and *Conner Odrischall*, into *Spaine*: The relapse of Sir *Owen Mac Carties* Sonnes: The Spanish Hostages returned into *Spaine*: The restraint of *Cormock* Lord of Muskery: His escape and reduction: The winning of the Castle of Mocrumpe: The defeat of *Tirrell* and his Bonoghs in Muskery. The sending of Sir *Samuell Bagnall* with fiftene hundred men to the Lord Deputie: The Service done upon the Knight of Kerry: The flight of *Tirrell* with his Bonoghs out of the Province: The defeat of the Rebels in Glangarne: The flight of *William Burke* with his Bonoghs, *Osulevan Beare*, and *Connor Kerry* out of Mounster: The overthrow of the *Cartyes* in Carbery, And the killing of the Popes Apostolique Vicar, *Owen Mac Egan*: The sending of a Regiment with Munition and Victualls for the service in Connaght: The defeat of the Lord of Lixnaw: The finall reduction of Mounster: The appointing of Sir *Charles Wilmot*, and Sir *George*



*Thornton* joynt Commisioners  
for the Government of  
Mounster: And the  
departure of the  
Lord President  
into ENGLAND.

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\*



## A TABLE ALPHABETICALL.

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Pacata Hibernia; or, a history of the wars in Ireland, during the reign of  
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